

**THE ASSESSMENT OF THE  
IMPACT OF DESEGREGATED  
SCHOOLING ON YOUNG CHILDREN,  
UTILIZING THEIR DRAWINGS**

**BRENDA BARBARA COWLEY**  
**B.A., D.E.J.P., B.A. Hons. (Psychology)**

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**SUPERVISOR : SVEA VAN DER HOORN**

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## ABSTRACT

This study concerns the assessment of the racial awareness and attitudes (intra- and interpersonal) of a small group of Sub A children in a recently racially desegregated school in Cape Town in 1991.

This issue was seen to be of importance in South Africa because of changes within the educational sector whereby many schools were in the process of becoming racially desegregated.

A case study design and methodology was used in both the pilot and main studies. Three drawings together with collateral information were obtained from each of the twenty five children. The measurement instruments used were the Human Figure Drawing (HFD), the Kinetic School Drawing (KSD) and an instrument which was devised by the researcher during the pilot study, namely the Peer Group Drawing.

Data analysis involved each drawing being analysed separately according to the analysis systems of Klepsch and Logie (1982), and Koppitz (1968), and further informed by Burns (1982) and Furth (1988).

Within subject comparisons were undertaken which resulted in the data being clustered into four groups. The grouped data was then analysed and interpreted in terms of the aim of the study.

Findings generally concurred with the literature: the children were found to be racially aware and held definite racial attitudes, and these were related to socio-cognitive and affective development.

More than half of the subjects were found to be experiencing difficulties which in some cases could be clearly linked to adjusting to classroom desegregation.

A central recommendation was for active mediation by educators and psychologists in the process of transition from desegregation to integration.

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## **CHAPTER ONE : BACKGROUND, MOTIVATION AND ACTUALITY**

### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

Inherent in all socially stratified societies, including Britain, America and Canada, there is a potential for the development of racial prejudice. This has been clearly demonstrated by the race riots in Britain and America in the 1980's (Aboud, 1988). In these societies conditions are such that certain groups are placed in a minority role with a lower economic, political and social status than other groups. In South Africa, where racist norms have been politically and legally sanctioned and until recently, the official structures of apartheid have been firmly entrenched, it is likely that members of this society are even more highly attuned to racial and ethnic issues.

For over 40 years the apartheid policy of South Africa has determined that government schools should be segregated. An "own affairs" ideology has given rise to the institutionalization of 4 separate education departments. This policy of educational segregation has been one of the pillars of the apartheid structure and the resulting vast discrepancy in the quality of white and black education has given rise to an educational crisis.

#### **1.1.1 THE HISTORY OF THE OPEN SCHOOLS MOVEMENT**

Prior to 1976, black pupils whose parents had diplomatic status in the Transvaal had been officially admitted into Catholic schools in this province. However, Catholic schools in the Transvaal and those in other provinces also unofficially admitted other black pupils. In 1976 these schools, and a number of other private institutions began to publicly challenge the government policy of educational segregation by openly admitting children of all races (Principal of a Catholic school, personal communication, 1991).

After many years of struggle and negotiation with the government, these schools were finally granted legal recognition and state subsidies in 1986 (Christie, 1990).

With the inauguration of F.W. de Klerk as State President in 1989, and the subsequent moves made towards a non-discriminatory political dispensation, changes have also been proposed in the educational sector. Since the beginning of 1990 the idea of the education system being integrated under a single department has been debated in government circles, and in March 1990, the first public announcement in this regard was made by the minister of Education and Culture, (House of Assembly) Mr Piet Clase, who spoke of the government's willingness to accept racially mixed state schools. However, he stressed that the opening of white schools would be limited, and in the subsequent months it became evident that the government would still be keeping a tight rein on the process of integration.

In September 1990 the government announced that in 1991 all white schools would be permitted to admit pupils of other races. However, it was decided that the schools would not be opened unilaterally, and those who wished to open their doors to all races could only do so if they achieved the consent of 72 per cent of the school's parent body. A voting system had to be set up within each school, and for an outcome to be considered valid, at least 80 percent of the parents were required to take part in the opinion poll. In the voting process, the parents were given 3 options from which to choose. These models still hold in 1991:

- Model A: The school can be changed into a private school with a government subsidization of 45 percent of the running costs.
- Model B: The school can remain fully public and determine its own admission policy subject to certain conditions.

These include:

The provision of a "Christian National" education; instruction in the mother-tongue; the retention of parent participation; preference to be given to white children from the feeder area of the school; the retention of traditional school values and ethos; an approved curriculum which has as its point of departure the "culture of the target group (i.e. white English or Afrikaans speaking groups), but which at the same time includes "contact with, and an introduction to a wider cultural world". (National Education Policy Act, 39, 1967).

- Model C: The change from a government to a "state-aided" school for which the government will pay the teachers' salaries. This would involve approximately 75 percent of the running costs.

(D.E.C. Information Document, Sept. 1990)

No precise date was set for implementation of models "A" and "C", but the implementation of model B was set in motion on January 1st, 1991.

Some schools did not choose to participate in the voting process, preferring to remain segregated, or to open without abiding by model B. Others did not manage to achieve the stipulated percentage of parent votes. However, many schools did manage to achieve the required percentage of parental consent, and as of January 1991, 5887 other than white pupils had been admitted into formerly all-white schools country-wide (D.E.C. News, March, 1991). At the beginning of the Cape school year a total of 107 of its 702 schools opened to all races. Since then a few more schools have applied to adopt Model "B". The present regulation is that schools must have 50 percent white enrollment. At most schools, however, the number of other than white students admitted is less than the 50 percent quota. One primary school in Cape Town reported that 25 percent of its pupils are black (Argus, 22/01/91), while the number at other schools is less than 5 percent.

#### **1.1.1.1 Current reactions**

The general feeling amongst educationalists regarding the motivation of parents who voted for the open school system, is that whether they desire it or not, most parents have to accept that in a changing South Africa, non-racial schools are inevitable and "the sooner any person, group or institution starts adapting, the sooner it will be ready to handle the future" (Yeld, Argus, 8/10/90). Nevertheless, many white parents still hold a number of fears about the opening of the schools. According to a recent HSRC opinion survey of 1,856 white adults in all four provinces, the major cause for concern is that education standards will drop, and admission requirements be lowered (Yeld, Argus, 8/10/90). Other fears have also

been voiced. These include the fear of social friction and political violence, the transmission of illnesses such as T.B. and A.I.D.S., the influence of negative social behaviour (such as stealing), the lowering of hygiene standards, the acquisition of bad accents, the lack of school fee payments by black families, a vast increase in school fees (Ruth Versveld, Catholic Institute for Education, personal communication, 1991), and the fate of library books (Argus, 29/10/90).

Stereotypes seem to play a major role in the thinking of many white parents, as a headmaster of a private school in Cape Town, remarked:

[Some parents'] perceptions are that whites learn better and blacks have rhythm, can run fast and can't swim. (Yeld, Argus, 26/10/90)

He went on to say that one of the major problems experienced when his school became non-racial in 1983 was that the fears of parents "contaminated their children". He said that it had taken 15 years for his school to become "truly non-racial". (Yeld, Argus, 26/10/90)

The headmaster of a private school in Grahamstown voiced similar views. He stated that:

If there are problems with non-racialism in schools they are adult problems. The children get on with the business of living (Yeld, Argus, 8/10/90).

Some of the schools which have a Junior Primary section, are restricting their intake of black children to these classes. A headmaster of a private school reported that in his school the open admissions policy has also been weighted towards entry at Sub A level "so that children grow and develop together from an early stage of formal and informal education." He states that "this has worked well, and there have been no problems where race has been a factor" (Yeld, Argus, 8/10/90).

There was a large focus in the media on the first day of school in January, 1991 - especially on those schools which had recently become open to all races, and in particular on the children who were entering school for the first time (Sub A). The

general impression given by the media was that the children were adapting quickly and easily to the desegregation - "children mingled happily and naturally in the playgrounds," (Yeld, Argus, 22/01/91), and interviews with Junior Primary teachers confirmed this impression. Most of their remarks were similar to the following:

- at our school we are colour-blind; racial integration has not been an issue with us, and likewise the children are mixing naturally.
- If we do not draw attention to differences, the children will also not be concerned with these issues. All the Sub A's are adjusting well to school.
- Our children have integrated well, and the parents are satisfied. We have not made a big issue of the desegregation.

(Sub. A. teachers, Personal Communication)

## **1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Given the fact that institutionalized racial segregation in all areas of South African society has been the norm for many years, the apparent ease with which children are reportedly adapting to the desegregation of their classrooms is encouraging. However, although the children's outward response to desegregation may be positive, this does not mean that their racial attitudes are equally positive. What the teachers may be perceiving is the child's outward adaptation, especially in light of the fact that there is a general desire on the part of adults for their integration to be as smooth and successful as possible. Foster (1990) makes a distinction between attitude and behaviour, the one not necessarily being a reflection of the other. He states, for example, that children's ideas and feelings towards one another may not be mirrored in their choice of friends, or their behaviour in the playground. Milner (1983:125) notes in this regard that "reality places many demands and constraints upon our behaviour which may not operate when we are simply expressing our attitudes". Thus situational factors such as social pressure will have a major influence on determining whether or not behaviour is an accurate reflection of underlying attitudes. Thus in a school which is actively encouraging racial mixing

and racial tolerance, the behaviour of the children in this regard, is likely to be positive. Drawings are a valuable assessment tool as they are able to tap into affect, and uncover non verbal material which may otherwise be out of awareness. They have an added advantage in that most children love to draw, and that Sub A children are required to do many drawings during the course of the school day. The children are thus unlikely to interpret a request for drawings as unusual, and thus the bias towards socially desirable responses can be minimized.

Given the research findings outlined below, it is highly likely that the children entering Sub A do in fact have definite racial attitudes which may have an impact on their behaviour and their inter-relationships in a desegregated classroom.

### **1.3 AIM OF STUDY**

The aim of this study is to assess the racial awareness, and attitudes towards self and others of a small sample of Sub A children experiencing integrated formal schooling in Cape Town in 1991. Their awareness and attitudes will be considered in terms of their social-cognitive and affective developmental functioning, and will be assessed through the medium of drawings. This aim arises out of a broader concern that information provided in this study can help to emphasise the need for the introduction of effective integrative programmes into the Junior Primary Phase of schooling.

Without a thorough grounding of thought and knowledge in the implementation of programmes, it may be that the children's adjustment will be superficial, their racism will become more subtle (Wilson, 1983) and deeper issues will remain unaddressed. This situation will be particularly prevalent if white schools are under the misapprehension that the admission of black pupils is "sufficient in itself to counter the racism of apartheid." (Christie, 1990:147).

## **1.4 TERMINOLOGY**

### **1.4.1 RACE GROUPS AND ETHNIC GROUPS**

A race group can be defined as that which comprises people who share a common ancestry, and whose physical characteristics distinguish them from other groups (Collins English Dictionary). These characteristics include stature, facial features, hair type and skin colour.

The term "ethnic group" refers to people who have racial, linguistic and religious traits in common. These terms can thus be seen to be similar although "ethnic group" encompasses more than physical differences between races.

Owing to the fact that for many years the apartheid structure has laid a greater emphasis upon racial, as opposed to ethnic groups, the terms "race" and "racial group" are used in this study. However, in the literature review, the term "ethnic" will be retained in accordance with the use of the term in the studies cited. With the dismantling of Apartheid, the relevance of ethnic groups will become more salient in the political arena, as is already being shown in the friction between the Zulu and Xhosa groups.

### **1.4.2 RACIAL AWARENESS, ATTITUDES AND PREJUDICE**

Racial awareness can be defined as a conscious recognition of the self as a member of a specific group which is distinguished from other groups by various physical attributes. Awareness is characterized by a quality of neutrality.

Bagley (1979) describes "awareness" in terms of cognition, and "attitude" in terms of affect. Racial attitudes relate to the opinions and feelings that one has in relation to various racial groups, including one's own.

Prejudice can be seen as a preconceived attitude towards others. This attitude can also be either positive or negative. However, in contemporary usage, the term has adopted negative connotations (Foster, 1990). Thus "racial prejudice" generally refers to a set state of mind which causes an individual to feel and respond



negatively towards people from a particular ethnic group on the basis of this group affiliation (Aboud, 1988).

Racial awareness inevitably precedes the acquisition of racial attitude. However, Aboud (1988) stresses that racial awareness does not necessarily lead to racial prejudice. Unprejudiced children are aware of the same racial differences as those who are prejudiced.

### ✱ 1.4.3 RACIAL IDENTITY AND IDENTIFICATION

Racial identity refers to one's consciousness of belonging to a racial group which has an influence upon part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings and behaviour as a member of this group. (Rotheram and Phinney, 1987). Racial identification suggests the ability to define oneself as a member of a particular group. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990:298) note that "with identity, an internalization of identification has occurred".

#### **1.4.3.1 Personal identity and racial identity**

Personal identity refers to an awareness of the self as an individual, while racial identity relates to the awareness of the self as a member of a racial group.

In a study relating to the identity development of minority children, Rotheram et Al., (1987) see personal and ethnic identity as essentially separate although each may reciprocally influence the other. Spencer et Al. (1990) suggest that the one is not necessarily predictive of the other. This is borne out by their study which will be discussed below.

### **1.4.4 MINORITY AND MAJORITY GROUPS**

In the literature relating to socially stratified societies, "minority groups" are seen to comprise a relatively small number of individuals within a society who hold less power and social status than the "majority" who form a dominant, socially valued group. Owing to the political situation which has up until recently existed in South

Africa, the blacks who form the numerical majority in the country have been placed in a socially subservient and politically powerless position in relation to the white minority. Because of this situation, it is likely that issues pertaining to the development of racial attitudes amongst the white and black racial groups in South Africa, will be similar to countries in which (numerically speaking) there is a white majority and a black minority which is also reflected in social status. Recent South African studies have generally confirmed this supposition (Foster, 1986; Aarons, 1991). However American and British research cannot be uncritically generalized or used inferentially.

## **1.5 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

### **1.5.1 THE CASE STUDY**

The case study approach was chosen for the purpose of illuminating issues relating to racial awareness and attitude in a small group of children. Case studies have been criticized for their inherent subjectivity which is minimized in other experimental designs (Miller, 1983). However, this criticism can be counterbalanced by the fact that the case study offers a more individualized qualitative approach which can illuminate complexities and subtleties which may be missed in a large sample, using other experimental designs.

### **1.5.2 CONSTRUCTS TO BE MEASURED**

Two criteria are the focus of measurement in this study. These are the racial awareness and racial attitudes of a small sample of young children.

### **1.5.3 THE SAMPLE**

The sample consisted of twenty five Sub A children in a recently desegregated Primary School in a white suburb of Cape Town. It comprised thirteen boys and twelve girls. Five children were black, twelve white, and eight coloured. The age

range of these children was between five years and eleven months and seven years, four months, with an average class age of six years and eight months.

#### **1.5.4 THE PILOT STUDY**

Before the study was conducted, approximately 50 Sub A children from two other government schools were used for the gathering of pilot study data which was used to refine the questions and assessment procedures used in the main study.

#### **1.5.5 ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENTS AND DATA COLLECTION: MAIN STUDY.**

Three drawing techniques were used in this study. These were the Kinetic School Drawing (Prout and Phillip, 1974), the Human Figure Drawing (Koppitz, 1968), and a Kinetic Peer Group Drawing devised by the researcher. The subjects were required to do each of these drawings on three consecutive days. Information was also gleaned from post drawing interviews with each child, and by general observation within the classroom, and in the wider school setting. Collateral information relating to each child was obtained from the teacher.

#### **1.5.6 DATA ANALYSIS: MAIN STUDY**

The analysis of the drawings was based upon the criteria outlined in Klepsch and Logie (1982) [See appendix 3]. However, other sources such as Furth (1988), and Burns (1982) were also used, as well as the age related normative data provided by Koppitz (1968). Koppitz's (1968) scoring system for emotional indicators was used for the analysis of the Human Figure Drawing.

Each instrument was analysed separately, then the three drawings of each subject were interpreted and comparisons across subjects were made. The data could then be clustered into four groups and further, more sophisticated analysis and interpretation in relation to the aims of the study was then made possible.

### **1.5.7 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The discussion of the findings attempts to link empirical data and theoretical issues outlined in the literature review. In particular, the social-cognitive developmental model of Aboud (1988), is stressed.

### **1.5.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

- CHAPTER ONE : Background, motivation and actuality
- CHAPTER TWO : Literature review.
- CHAPTER THREE : Research design and metholology
- CHAPTER FOUR : Data analysis and interpretation:  
grouped data
- CHAPTER FIVE : Data analysis and interpretation:  
grouped data
- CHAPTER SIX : Conclusion, recommendations and  
limitations
- REFERENCES
- ADDENDA

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

There are a number of theories relating to the study of racial awareness, attitude and prejudice. These include the social reflection theory (Allport, 1954), the inner state theory (Adorno et Al., 1950), the "colour symbolism" approach (Williams and Moreland, 1976:) and the social cognitive theories of Piaget and Weil (1951), Katz (1976) and Aboud (1988). The primary theoretical focus of this study is that which is based upon the social-cognitive development of racial prejudice as proposed by Aboud (1988).

Research findings which pertain to the development of racial attitudes in white, black and coloured children, are reported on. Literature commenting on gender differences in racial attitude, socio-economic factors influencing racial attitude, multi-racial contact, issues pertaining to segregation, the categorization of race and gender, social rules and moral development was reviewed. The literature relating to the use of drawings as a means of assessing attitudes, and measurement techniques used to assess racial awareness and attitudes was consulted.

#### 2.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF RACIAL AWARENESS, ATTITUDES AND PREJUDICE

##### 2.2.1 ABOUD'S SOCIAL COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENTAL THEORY

Aboud's theory of the social-cognitive development of racial attitudes is closely aligned to Piaget's cognitive developmental theory. She sees the social-cognitive development of prejudice in terms of two overlapping processes. The first relates to the child's experience. This experiential aspect follows in a sequence of affect,

through perception to cognition. The second process involves the child's focus of attention which develops from self, to groups and lastly to individuals within groups. Aboud describes this attitudinal development as that which takes place "in a sequence of steps" (1988:23).

The first step in the experiential process spans the ages of approximately three to six years and relates to affect, which determines the child's attitude towards his or her own group, as well as other ethnic groups. At this stage, attitudes towards specific people will be idiosyncratic, based primarily on social contacts which relate to own concerns such as those of attachment, fear, reward and approval. The focus of attention is primarily egocentric, and own preferences and perceptions are salient.

The second step begins at approximately age five, but also can run concurrently with the first. This step involves the primacy of perception in which attitudes are determined by external aspects of others who are dissimilar to the self. Dislike will be based upon the degree to which people are different to the self. Features such as skin colour, hair texture, language and clothing become the major points of reference. At the same time, the child will identify with those whom he or she looks most similar.

The child's focus of attention moves to groups, and Aboud notes in this regard that the statement "I see the two groups separately" translates into "I like the two groups differently" (1988:119).

The third step begins approximately at the age of seven when the cognitive processes described below begin to develop. Groups still form the primary focus of attention in the earlier part of this phase. Children up to the age of approximately ten remain primarily concerned with the external attributes of people and only after the age of eight or nine does the child gradually become aware of internal attributes. From approximately the age of ten years the focus begins to move to individuals within groups.

Aboud stresses the fact that the move from Piaget's preoperational to the concrete operational stage is critical as it marks the beginning of major changes in ethnic attitudes and the factors which determine them. Attributes associated with the stage of concrete operations include the ability to conserve, which is highly correlated with flexibility of thought (Doyle, Beaudet and Aboud, 1988), and the ability to understand object constancy. These same attributes will also influence the child's view of ethnicity. Flexibility in this context refers to the ability to comprehend that there are similarities between individuals of different ethnic groups. Likewise, individual members within an ethnic group can be seen as different in many respects. This flexibility appears to be a factor which promotes positive attitudes towards members of other groups.

An awareness of ethnic constancy will enable the child to understand that one's ethnicity will remain constant regardless of superficial changes in clothing or skin colour. Ethnicity therefore is seen as independent of wishes/fears (a distinction between what one would/would not like to be, and what one is), and perceptions.

For the preoperational child who lacks the flexibility of cognition, physical differences are correlated with assumed social and psychological differences.

External attributes are the basis of self-identity, and also play a major role in the formation of friendships. Thus it is likely that young children will not choose to form friendships with those whom they view as markedly different from themselves.

Once the young child identifies with his or her own group, evidence suggests that preference for this group occurs. This also appears to be the case in the development of gender identification (Martin and Halverson, 1981).

To be able to develop a true understanding of the nature of groups, it is initially necessary for the child to exaggerate contrasts, and at this point there may be a corresponding exaggeration of the pro-anti dichotomy. Later, however, with the

advent of the concrete operations stage, the greater cognitive flexibility allows an awareness of similarities as well as differences between groups (Aboud 1984).

### **2.2.2 CATEGORIZATION OF RACE AND GENDER.**

One of the cognitive processes relating to ethnic socialization mentioned by Tajfel (1981) is that of categorization. This enables the individual to simplify information by organizing a large assortment of facts into a limited number of classifications.

Looking at the young child's categorization of groups, Ramsey (1987) found that race categorization was used most frequently and this was followed by gender. However, children often mentioned small details that did not pertain to either. She notes that although race and gender seemed to exert some influence on their categorizations, they were not factors that the children necessarily mentioned. She suggests that this may reflect the fact that children's nonverbal performance in the classification of objects exceeds their verbal reasoning in this regard. She notes, however, with regard to race that children may be reluctant to mention this variable explicitly as it is "a subject considered taboo" (Ramsey, 1987:59)

### **2.2.3 SOCIAL RULES AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT**

In relation to the progression of focus from self to groups, to individuals within groups, the theory of sex-role development outlined by Block (1973) parallels that of Aboud (1988). Block notes that once children begin to focus attention from the self to the self as a member of a gender group, they become highly conscious of the social rules of conduct which define these groups. This coincides with Piaget's stage of "moral absolutism" in which "rules are immutable, unchanging through time and never to be questioned" (Hetherington and Parke., 1986:667). Seen in terms of Kohlberg's stages of moral development, most children under the age of nine are at the stage of preconventional morality in which social rules are seen as external to



the self, and conformity is based either on fear of punishment, or the expectation of personal reward (Hetherington et Al., 1986:667).

Thus a focus on rules becomes a feature from the age of four onwards, and characterizes many of the games which are played, especially those of the girls (Maccoby, 1980). With the young child's focus on rules, it can be inferred that those relating to ethnic interaction, dictated by society and/or influential figures in the child's world will be particularly relevant. It is possible that children of this age group could still hold on to their prejudicial views, but pay "lip service" to rules which demand a contrary viewpoint.

#### **2.2.4 INTERNATIONAL AND SOUTH AFRICAN STUDIES**

The subject of race and racial prejudice has been researched from as early as the 1930's in America, and from the 1960's in other countries (Foster, 1990). However, Foster (1986) notes that there has been surprisingly little research on the development of racial awareness and racial attitudes in South Africa. Thus, much reliance still has to be placed on international research. The South African situation is, however, unique in that the terms "minority" and "majority" used in the international literature do not strictly apply in the South African context. In this context whites form a socially dominant minority, and the blacks a socially subservient and, for many years, a politically powerless majority. This is a reversal of the situation in, for example, America and Britain where the white group forms the dominant majority.

It is noted that because research in this area differentiates according to race group, an inherent paradox exists: In attempts to achieve non-racial status reference to race classification is maintained. This unfortunate convention will also be followed in this study.

### **2.2.4.1 Research studies focusing on white children**

Empirical findings have revealed that race awareness in white children develops rapidly between the ages of three to four years and is firmly established by the age of six, which is the usual age of school entry (Katz, 1976; Milner, 1983). Ethnic attitudes also appear to be formed during this time, and negative attitudes directed towards certain members of another ethnic group are generally evident from the age of four (Foster, 1986; Ramsey, 1987; Aboud, 1988). At this stage white children show preference for white skin (Clarke, Hocevar and Dembo, 1980) and straight hair (Kircher and Furby, 1971).

Majority group children (i.e. the socially dominant group) show a greater in-group preference and identification than minority children (Foster, 1990). Aboud and Skerry, (1984) suggest that the attainment of concrete operational thought heralds a decline in prejudice, with attitudes of children from 7 or 8 years of age becoming less negative towards other ethnic groups, and at the same time less positive towards their own group. Doyle et Al (1988) found that this was indeed the case in their own study, with subjects showing a less biased view of ethnic groups following the attainment of concrete operational thinking. However, Aboud (1988) stresses that if children at this stage are exposed to the strong influence of a racially prejudiced environment and are not given appropriate information about ethnic groups, negative bias will continue. She states that "A golden opportunity might be lost" if children are not given a chance to exercise these new cognitive capabilities (Aboud, 1988:203).

Moodie (1980) found an increasing ethnocentrism in white South African children from the age of six to thirteen years, a trend which is more marked amongst Afrikaans- than English-speaking white children. Foster (1986:167) remarks that in South Africa, the increase in ethnocentrism may be "in conformity with the racist social norms." Thus in South Africa the confounding variable of a state enforced

racist ideology creates a distinction from the other socially stratified countries such as America and Britain. An important consideration in this regard is the traditionally inferior status of the black nanny, gardener, or domestic worker who, in many cases provides white children in our segregated society with the first opportunity for contact with black people (Wilbraham, 1987). Owing to the vastly discrepant socio-economic status of the white and black populations, the employment of a black servant is a common occurrence in the majority of white households. Perceiving the master/servant relationship, the child is likely to translate it into a black/white context: whites are rich and dominant, blacks are poor and subservient.

In a recent South African study conducted on over 400 children between the ages of six and eleven in the Cape Town area, it was found that the attitudes of white children showed a clear developmental pattern, with an initially strong own group preference and high out group prejudice (Aarons, 1991). However, contrary to the earlier findings of Moodie (1980), both factors showed a decline with age. This is in line with international findings, and is in accordance with the theory proposed by Aboud (1988). As Aarons points out, however, "A correlative ...is that racial prejudice will not disappear with the dismantling of Apartheid" (1991:84).

It should be noted that even in America and Britain, despite a trend towards a decline in strong ethnocentrism, some children do nevertheless continue to uphold negative attitudes towards other groups in favour of their own (Aboud, 1988; Davey, 1983).

#### **2.2.4.2 Research studies focusing on black children**

Black children were found to be racially aware from the age of three to four years (Ramsey, 1987). However, instead of developing an own group identification and

preference, they show a preference for, and identification with, whites. Preferred stimuli include white skin and straight hair (Clark et Al., 1980; Kircher et Al., 1971). International studies show that this out-group bias tends to decrease with age (Spencer, 1982). Spencer stresses the fact that data relating to black out-group preference has been highly misinterpreted and misused by personality theorists who have hypothesized that black children suffer from a negative self concept. However, she notes that a developmental approach to socialization suggests that minority group children (i.e. those belonging to ethnic groups holding lower social status) are likely to experience an "identity imbalance" between personal and group identity. This problem is the greatest for those children who "minimally represent European values and/or physical characteristics" (Spencer, 1982:63). Identity imbalance is said to occur when a black child may have a positive self-concept, and at the same time hold Eurocentric, or white identity values.

Spencer (1982) found the young minority child's identity pattern to be transient and highly dependant on his or her stage of cognitive development and external sociocultural forces operating in his or her environment. She notes that "the minority child's cognitive construction of reality is the intervention which allows and supports identity differentiation and a healthy ego" (Spencer, 1982:81). Thus the tendency of the young minority child to identify with the majority group is seen as a healthy (and transient) stage in the development of self-identity. As the child's cognitive structures develop, there is likely to be a change in personal and group identity. However, it is noted that cognitive intervention (i.e. cognitive behaviour modification) as well as social intervention can also help to counteract or even prevent identity imbalance (Spencer, 1982).

Davey (1983) provides contrary evidence which indicates that during the 1970's the out-group preference of black children between the ages of five and ten years did not decrease. However, Foster (1990) notes that South African black children also

continue to hold an out-group preference after the age of seven. He stresses that as yet, little research has been done on trends for later-age South African children. It should be noted, however, that research on ethnic and racial minorities is beset by methodological problems such as nonequivalence across groups (Spencer et Al., 1990).

It can be surmised that in South Africa, with its firmly entrenched racist norms, the transition described by Spencer (1982) is more difficult for black children to make. However, the Aarons (1991) study indicates that the attitudes of South African black children are in accordance with those found in international research. At early ages, black children show less own-group preference and less out-group prejudice than the whites. With increasing age there is a corresponding increase in own group pride, but this shows a downward turn between the ages of nine to ten. Group pride re-emerges at the ages of eleven to twelve.

#### **2.2.4.3 Research studies focusing on other than black minority children**

Aarons (1991) notes that very little research has been conducted on the development of racial attitudes in minorities which are other than black. She cites a number of studies which indicate that within these minority groups there is an early bias which is pro-white, and this bias does not appear to lessen with age. Her findings, however, indicate that neutral attitudes are held by South African coloured children towards both white and black groups. She notes in this regard that it is possible that this South African minority group may have a clear own group affiliation which is distinct from either the black or the white group.

## **2.3 FACTORS INFLUENCING CHILDREN'S RACIAL AWARENESS, ATTITUDES AND PREJUDICE.**

### **2.3.1 GENDER**

Gender differences in the development of racial attitude have not been significantly established. Koch (in Milner, 1983), found that black and white girls have a greater own-group orientation than boys. However, other studies have found no evidence in this regard (Milner, 1983; Aarons, 1991).

### **2.3.2 SOCIAL STATUS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS**

Milner (1983) notes that few studies have successfully isolated social structural factors in a controlled way. With regard to the influence of socio-economic status, studies involving young children have generally shown no significant differences in attitudes towards different status groups. In South Africa, with its history of racial status differences, and current status differences between the white, black and coloured populations, it would be difficult to isolate socio-economic issues from racial issues per se.

Social status references are used primarily by children of eight years and above, an age at which stereotypes referring to the inferior roles of black people become more frequent (Milner, 1983).

### **2.3.3 INTER-RACIAL CONTACT**

Theories relating to the field of inter-racial contact, are generally subsumed under the term "contact hypothesis." A number of models exist (Tibbs, 1991), and the issues pertaining to the field are complex and problematic. At the risk of over simplification some of these issues and studies will be briefly discussed.

The earliest version of the "contact hypothesis" is that which states that an association with members of a disliked group will result in the development of positive attitudes towards this group. Allport (1954) noted that the effect of contact will be greater if certain conditions are met. He notes that:

"Prejudice may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups" (p.281). (researcher's emphasis)

These basic conditions strongly suggest the need for socially sanctioned interpersonal contact, and are still held to be the most fundamental in the reduction of racial prejudice (Tibbs, 1991).

Foster (1988) notes that there has been 'little research done on the contact hypothesis in the South African context and the few studies which exist cannot be generalized to the wider population. He argues that "given the history and present nature of the South African situation, contact per se is not sufficient" to alter attitudes and behaviour (Foster, 1988:39).

### **2.3.3.1 Residential segregation and desegregation**

Milner (1983:116) notes that when considering residential segregation in America or Britain, it is clear that "differences in status among whites also ensure differences in the amount of contact with blacks". In South Africa, the recently repealed Group Areas Act which was determined along racial lines, has been highly effective in ensuring little inter-racial contact. Foster (1988) cites a study conducted by Russel in 1961 on inter-racial contact in a neighbourhood prior to the full effects of the group areas act in which it was found that residential contact was associated with a greater degree of friendly relationships. With regard to whether this contact led to a reduction in racial prejudice, the findings were complex, but suggested that in

comparison to South African norms in general, white attitudes towards blacks were more positive.

#### **2.3.3.2 School segregation and desegregation**

In South Africa, it is generally hoped that the open school setting will create the opportunity for contact between races which will help to reduce prejudice. It is hoped that prejudice will be diminished by the development of intergroup familiarity which will promote respect for differences and the recognition of aspects of similarity. However, it is questionable as to whether this will be brought about by multi-racial contact alone.

Studies relating to school desegregation in America give mixed results, showing little evidence for increase in black self-esteem or the lessening of white prejudice. More positive findings were observed in situations where opportunity for intimate acquaintance potential was given, as opposed to casual encounters (Stephen, 1978; Cook, 1978).

In a study involving 5 and 6 year old children, Goldstein, Koopman and Goldstein (1979) found that interracial contact in the classroom exerted a significant influence on the attitudes of both black and white children, with an increased preference for, and acceptance of blacks in both groups. The authors of the study noted that segregated classrooms on the other hand promoted what they termed a "cocoon effect" with unrealistic perceptions of other races, and a tendency towards a preference for whites amongst both black and white children.

However, Hewstone and Brown (1986) note that one of the problems of research in this area is that if there is a reduction in prejudice, it is difficult to isolate whether this can be attributed to contact alone. They echo Allport in their suggestion that interpersonal interaction may be more important than inter-group interaction.



According to Davey (1983), the prejudice of white children is reduced if the ratio of whites to blacks is on a 50:50 basis as opposed, for example to a ratio of 90:10. However, the evidence is less consistent in children below the age of 8 years (Milner, 1973).

In the South African context, it is important to take note of the observations of Christie (1990:130) who states that

... racial discrimination [is] so finely interwoven into daily life in South Africa that simply bringing pupils together in the same schools [does] not necessarily eliminate racial thinking or bring a clear understanding of the dynamics of race.

She stresses that before these complexities can be adequately addressed, however, individuals and institutions involved with school desegregation should confront, rather than deny the effects of many years of racial segregation in all areas of our society.

#### **2.3.4 THE TEACHER AND PEERS AS MEDIATORS**

Social cognitive theory emphasises the importance of the role of the zone of proximal development in the acquisition of new information and general cognitive development. Vygotsky (1978:86) defines the zone of proximal development as:

the distance between the actual level as defined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers.

In doing so, he alludes to the importance of the role of the teacher and peers in the development of racial awareness, attitudes and prejudice. "The child's discourse with the adult is a microcosm of a more extensive social process" (Brunner, in Brunner and Haste, 1987:21).

In agreement with the above theorists, Aboud (1988:133) stresses the importance of the mediating role of "the educator". She states that,

Given that educators are familiar with both the theories of cognitive development and the strategies of skill development, they could make a major and lasting contribution to the reduction of prejudice.

## **2.4 ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURES**

The most common method in the measurement of racial attitude of children has been the forced choice procedure which has been used for over forty years in America (Milner, 1983). Because the use of verbally sophisticated techniques (such as questionnaires and attitudes scales) were found to be unsuitable for young children, dolls or pictures which represent the racial groups in the child's environment were used. However, the findings of most of the studies using these measures showed that they were plagued by methodological problems (Milner, 1983; Aboud and Skerry, 1984; Vaughn, 1987; Aboud, 1988). Traditionally measures have been largely quantitative in their approach (Ramsey 1987). A more qualitative measuring instrument is Kelly's Repertory Grid which he used as part of his Personal Construct Theory (Aarons, 1991). However, it has been criticized for its time consuming nature and complicated administration.

Ramsey (1987) stressed the need for qualitative data in research on racial attitude, and focused on classroom observations and studies which used open-ended tasks, as well as clinical interviews to elicit information. Few studies have made use of the children's own drawings in the measurement of racial attitude (Prof. D. Foster, personal communication, 1991), possibly because of the largely subjective nature of drawing analysis - a criticism which has been leveled at projective measures in general (Hammer, 1958). Moodie (1980) used drawings as part of her study, but

they were not analyzed for their psychological content as such. The subjects were asked to draw two pictures - one of "myself", and one of "the people of my country". Only the latter drawing was mentioned in the results and discussion section of the study. The primary interest of this drawing lay in the focus upon whom the child had chosen to draw, with the majority of younger (Grade 1, or six year old) children choosing to depict family members or friends, in keeping with the egocentric response of this age group.

It is the researcher's opinion that the general omission of drawing analysis in the measurement of the racial attitudes of young children is unfortunate, as drawings are able to tap attitudes and feelings which a child is either unable, or unwilling to verbalize (Hammer, 1958; Koppitz, 1968; Furth, 1988) and are a developmentally appropriate means of expression for young children. The use of the drawing as a projective technique will be discussed below.

#### **2.4.1 DRAWINGS**

Karen Machover (1968) was the first to formally analyze human figure drawings in terms of their projective content. Basing her hypotheses on psychoanalytic theory she believes that the human figure drawing relates "intimately to the impulses, anxieties, conflicts and compensations characteristic of that individual" (Machover, 1968:37). Machover together with Buck, who introduced the House-Tree-Person (HTP) test in 1948, are considered to be the "chief architects" of the projective drawing field (Hammer, 1958).

Elizabeth Koppitz (in Klepsch et Al., 1982) developed the first refined scoring system for evaluating the drawings of young children, and the strength of her system lies in its normative developmental orientation. Influenced by Harry Stack Sullivan's Interpersonal Relationship Theory she hypothesized that the Human Figure Drawing (HFD) is a reflection of a child's developmental level as well as his or her

interpersonal relationships. She noted that HFD's may also tap into a child's conscious or unconscious anxieties, and stressed that they reflected the child's current stage of mental maturity, and his or her attitudes and concerns at a given moment. These would change with the child's development and experience (Koppitz, 1968).

The projective work with Human Figure Drawings, and the projective uses of the House-Tree-Person techniques, have fostered investigations into other projective drawing techniques including those which provide a measure of the self in relation to others. These include the Draw-A-Family technique (Hulse, 1951), the Kinetic Family Drawing (Burns and Kaufmann, 1970), the Regressed Kinetic Family Drawing (Furth, 1988) and the Kinetic School Drawing (Prout and Phillips, 1974).

Arising out of Hulse's Draw-A-Family Test which is a non-kinetic or motionless technique, the Kinetic Family Drawing technique (KFD) by its interactive nature, was found to be a more effective means of tapping the child's perceptions and attitudes towards him- or herself in relation to his/her family members. In requiring a child to draw his or her whole family doing something it was also better able to depict family roles, influences and interactions (Knoff and Prout, 1985).

In 1974, Prout and Phillips developed an analogous method for the assessment of school-related interactions and issues. This technique, which they termed the Kinetic School Drawing (KSD) requires the child to draw a picture of relevant school figures doing something. Andrews and Jazen (1988) have noted that although empirical research on the validity and reliability of the K-S-D has been fairly limited, it was found to be particularly useful in generating hypotheses relating to social-emotional factors.

Therefore, it seems that drawings can provide a non-verbal description of a child's awareness and attitudes both towards self and others in the classroom situation. The description can be supplemented by verbal inquiry. Such a procedure would take

into account conscious and unconscious factors as well as the child's social cognitive developmental level of functioning.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

Permission to conduct the study was sought from the Department of Education and Culture (House of Assembly). This was granted within a week of application.

### **3.1 THE PILOT STUDY**

The pilot study involved approximately fifty children from two recently desegregated preparatory schools. One of the schools had white and coloured children, but no black children, and thus was not a representative sample. However, much useful information with regard to the methodology of the study was gained. A week was spent at each of the pilot study schools. The primary focus was to assess the applicability of the drawing techniques in relation to the aims of the study, and to determine whether or not there was a need to modify the instructions (for example, whether or not they should be repeated more than once for children of this age group). The post drawing questions were also modified from the experience gained in these schools. An opportunity was also provided to assess the conditions under which the drawings were to be carried out, and the amount of time needed to obtain the drawings.

From the experience gained, the awareness of the necessity for a Peer Group Drawing arose: In the first pilot study school, the subjects were asked to draw themselves with as many of the children in their class as possible. However, it became clear that this instruction was impractical as the children soon tired, and it was not possible to glean enough information about their attitudes towards those who were omitted from the drawings. It was found that all the children could manage to draw at least six figures. In the second school, the forced-choice peer group drawing (described below) was tested, and proved to be much more valuable

in the gleaning of information pertinent to the study. Initially a chromatic Peer Group Drawing was obtained.

It could be argued that few of the children would use shading to portray skin colour if pencil were the medium as it does not lend itself easily to the depiction of colour. However, in the news books in which the children used wax crayon, only one black child used brown wax crayon to shade the limbs and face of himself, and those of his family and black friends at home. However, his other drawings (HFD, KSD, and PGD) depicted the self figure with Caucasian features.

Shading of body parts is generally recognized as an indicator of anxiety (Machover, 1968; Koppitz, 1968; Burns, 1972). However, there is a difference between the shading which depicts skin colour (which tends to be light, smooth and even), and shading which reveals anxiety (which differs in quality and intensity). Koppitz (1968) notes in this regard that the shading of the body and limbs only becomes a significant indicator of anxiety for boys from the age of nine and girls from the age of eight years. She states that before these ages, body anxiety is normal among school beginners who are just beginning to be aware of body differences and functions.

The idea of using colour was discarded for the main sample, however, because the achromatic pictures required in the HFD and KSD could not be used as an equivalent means of comparison. The use of colour evokes a more emotionally-laden response than that obtained via achromatic pictures (Hammer, 1958). These chromatic drawings are, however, interesting, and will be briefly discussed in the following chapter.

The drawings obtained from the pilot study provided a useful opportunity for practice in drawing analysis, using the interpretative guidelines described below.

## **3.2 THE MAIN STUDY: SAMPLING**

### **3.2.1 CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF THE SCHOOL**

In choosing the school as a setting for the case study, it was important to use one which had children from the three main population groups in the Peninsula, namely white, coloured and black. Amongst the other than white groups, a lot of schools had a greater percentage of coloured children, and some did not have black children. The principals of these schools stated that the lack of black children was not because of school policy in this regard, but because the schools were located far from the black residential areas. However, the general aim of the open school system is towards integrating children from all racial groups.

Seven recently opened schools were approached as possible sites for the study. However, only one proved to be suitable because its Sub A. class not only comprised all three racial groups, but also had the most "other-than-white" pupils (just under half).

The pilot study schools were white English medium preparatory schools, and the main school chosen for the study was a white English Medium primary school. This school is situated in a so-called middle-class white residential area in Cape Town. This area is relatively close to the black townships, and some coloured suburbs of Cape Town, and consequently had more coloured and black children than other white schools which have become desegregated this year. It also had a Sub A class which has the most other-than-white children (just less than half).

### **3.2.2 ADMISSIONS POLICY AND SELECTION PROCEDURE**

The admissions policy of the school also contributed to the high intake of black children. Before white schools were declared open at the end of 1991, the pupil numbers were extremely low. Thus to avert the very real possibility of a loss of



teachers in the near future, and the ultimate threat of closure, the school elected to accept as many children from all the racial groups as possible, as opposed to a nearby school in the area which set high admissions criteria because "they did not want the academic standards of the school to drop" (personal communication, principal). The policy of the case study school was to admit black children on the basis of their English proficiency. However, in some cases, it was difficult to assess the English proficiency of some children who were reticent at the initial interview. The teachers involved in the admission interviews were at times unsure as to whether or not the reticence was simply due to shyness, and thus accepted these children on good faith on the recommendations of previous schools, or parents. Unfortunately, as it turned out, the English of some of the children (especially a few in the higher standards) was indeed very poor.

The Sub A admission procedure was conducted by the Sub A teachers who administered a school readiness test. They were particularly concerned about language proficiency, and found that the one black child whom they interviewed would be able to cope. The other black children in the class applied very late in the year, and were admitted without an interview. The teacher feels that admitting some of these children was "a mistake". She stated that one child in particular "does not know what is going on half the time, and often has to rely on translations from the other black children."

### **3.2.3 THE CLASSROOM STRUCTURE**

To promote the ideal of a more individualized teaching process, all Junior Primary children in the Cape Province are taught in three separate ability groups. These groups respectively comprise children of above average, average and below average ability. To distract the children's awareness from the ability group arrangement, the groups are given names which are usually chosen by the children themselves.

Despite the attempt to draw the children's attention from the various abilities, most Junior Primary teachers state that the children are nevertheless aware of the differences, especially at the commencement of reading when the most able ("top") group may be on their second reading sentence, whereas the least able ("bottom") group may still be involved in readiness activities.

#### **3.2.4 THE TEACHER**

Although the teacher had 17 years of Junior Primary teaching experience, this was the first year in which she was teaching a Sub A class. Thus much of her energy had gone into adapting her teaching, and teaching apparatus to this level. As a result she had not had time to establish programmes and strategies to help integrate the children socially, although she was aware of this need. She felt that this year was one in which she, and the other teachers of recently opened schools were "still finding their feet" in the new situation, and stated that things would possibly be easier next year, and time could be made to generate ideas to facilitate social adjustment.

Asked if she was doing anything different now that her class was racially desegregated she said that she had become aware of having to speak more clearly, and was very conscious of the need to learn Xhosa. She found that her greatest difficulty was in teaching the black children because of language difficulties. Her main concern was that she had a very large group of children who were in her "bottom group" (below average academically). This group included all the black (5), some white (2), and most of the coloured children (5).

#### **3.2.5 THE SUBJECTS**

The Sub A class was comprised of 27 children, 5 of whom were black, 14 white and 8 coloured. The children were aged between five years, eleven months and seven years, four months, and the average class age was six years and eight months.

Of the fourteen white children in the class, eleven had attended pre-school, and three had attended a creche. Ten of the white children had attended the same racially segregated pre-school in the feeder area of the school, and thus had the advantage of being familiar with one another when entering school at the beginning of the year. Two of the children had been at the same creche.

Of the eight coloured children, three had attended separate pre-schools, and two had attended the same creche. Three coloured children had not experienced either a pre-school or a creche.

Three of the five black children had attended pre-schools (one child had attended a racially desegregated pre-school) and one had been at a creche. The other black child was repeating Sub A.

In terms of socio-economic standing, most of the white and coloured children, and some of the black children were from so-called middle-class backgrounds with parents who had been professionally trained. Only one child was from a home whose mother was a domestic worker (father, deceased). However, as Aaron (1991) states it is difficult to compare class across race, as the concepts are closely interwoven in South Africa.

### **3.3 THE MAIN STUDY: DATA COLLECTION**

There were three main sources of data:

- drawings and post drawing inquiry.
- classroom observation.
- Collateral information obtained from the teacher and from news books.

Of these, the data obtained through drawings and post drawing inquiry formed the basis of the research findings. Data obtained by the other two methods was used to verify and elaborate the analysis and interpretation of the drawings.

Drawings were obtained over a period of one week, the first day of which was spent getting to know the children and allowing them to become familiar with the researcher. Their general interactions were observed, and an idea was obtained of their academic ability. The children were interested in why the researcher was in their classroom and, after a while, were pleased to have her around. One child was overheard to state that they were "lucky because we have two teachers now".

As Furth (1988) states, external variables have a profound effect on the way pictures look, and what they reveal. Thus it was important that the children felt at ease, and were eager to participate in the study. The researcher mentioned to the children that she would like them to draw some special pictures for her. Those who seemed to be the most eager at first were invited one at a time to another room with her. Gradually, all the children were very eager to participate, and some even tried to trick the researcher into believing that they had not been at all so that they could have another turn.

The room chosen was one which was removed from the classroom, so that the children could draw without interruption. It was filled with toys, cushions and books, giving it an air of cosiness and relaxation. It was also a room with which the children were familiar.

Each child was given an A4 piece of paper, an H.B. pencil and an eraser. The researcher was cognoscente of the fact that a thin HB pencil would be difficult for some children with poor fine motor co-ordination to handle, but in the interests of standardization, this instrument was used.

### 3.3.1 DRAWINGS

Levy (1958:83) notes with regard to projective figure drawings:

[Their] interpretation ... is without sufficient experimental validation, rarely yields unequivocal information and frequently misleads the unwary.

Drawings are subject to the same criticisms as those levelled at other projective techniques such as the Rorschach and the Thematic Aperception Test. However, the diagnostic value of these tests is nevertheless generally acknowledged. It can be argued that drawings can be as valuable as other techniques which have been used to assess racial awareness and attitude.

Drawings have been found to be a useful assessment tool for a number of reasons: They are regarded as a useful medium in tapping deepest levels of unconsciousness (Furth, 1988), and have a use in assessing underlying feelings and attitudes that may not otherwise be immediately accessible (Andrews et al., 1988).

Drawings have also been found to overcome one of the central problems in cross-cultural research by addressing the issue of equivalence of measurement (Rubenstein, Feldman and Rubin, 1987). Koppitz (1968:120) notes that:

children who differ greatly in age, sex, mental ability, behavior symptoms and place of residence may still use very similar images to reveal their feelings about being "different".

Each child was asked to draw three pictures, the first being the Human Figure Drawing (HFD), the second a Kinetic School Drawing (KSD), and the third, a Peer Group Drawing (PGD).

### **3.3.1.1 Human figure drawing (HFD)**

#### **3.3.1.1.1 Rationale**

The rationale for using the H.F.D. in the context of this study, was to be able to assess the child's feelings and attitudes about him- or herself. As Koppitz (1968:5) notes, the child's "picture of a person becomes ... a portrait of his inner self, of his attitudes". It was also used as a method to screen out those children whose pictures showed signs of emotional disturbance. Koppitz notes that one emotional indicator on an HFD is inconclusive as a sign of emotional disturbance. She suggests, however, that two or more emotional indicators on a H.F.D. strongly indicate emotional problems and poor interpersonal relationships.

#### **3.3.1.1.2 Method**

The HFD was the last drawing to be obtained. It was done as a group activity in the classroom with all the children drawing at the same time. The following instruction was given:

On this piece of paper, I would like you to draw a WHOLE person. It can be any kind of a person you want to draw, just make sure that it is a whole person and not a stick figure or a cartoon figure.\*  
(Koppitz, 1968:6)

\* In the instructions given, certain terms were elaborated upon. These were "whole person" ("I don't want just a head") and "stick figure" (one was shown on the board). The instruction was then repeated without the elaboration of terms.

### **3.3.1.2 Kinetic school drawing (KSD)**

#### **3.3.1.2.1 Rationale**

Use was made of this technique for the following purposes:

- To assess how comfortable the child felt in the classroom environment, and with his or her teacher.
- To look at whom the child considered to be his or her special friends and, in particular, to which racial groups these friends belonged.
- To compare this picture of the self depicted with the teacher and friends, with the self figure in the peer group drawing.

#### **3.3.1.2.2 Method**

The KSD was the first drawing to be done. It was obtained on an individual basis so that the child could take as much time as he or she wished without interruption, and also gave the researcher an opportunity to make personal contact with each child. The instructions were the following:

I would like you to draw a school picture. Put yourself, your teacher and a friend or two in the picture.\* Make everyone doing something. Try to draw whole people and make the best drawing you can. (Klepsch et al., 1982:82)

\* It was found with children of this age group that it was clearer if this sentence was altered to "Draw yourself, your teacher and one or two of the friends whom you like best in your class." It was necessary to emphasize "in your class", as some of the children in the pilot study had elected to draw children who were not in the class. Because the instruction is fairly long and complicated, and many immature children of this age group have a short auditory retention span, it was repeated twice. Before commencing to draw, each child was asked to repeat whom he or she thought had to

be put into his or her picture. Any part of the instruction which was forgotten was then repeated.

#### **3.3.1.2.3 Post drawing enquiry**

After the drawing was completed, the child was asked what each person depicted was saying or doing. Most of the children did not depict their figures kinetically as children of this age group find it difficult to move out of their idiosyncratic stylistic way of drawing people. Verbally, however, the child was able to say what the figures were saying or doing in his or her picture.

The child was then asked where he or she lived, and if the children drawn lived nearby, if they ever played together after school or on the weekends, and if they ever stayed the night. The rationale behind this was to assess whether or not friends were chosen based on the familiarity of home contact.

#### **3.3.1.3 Peer group drawing (PGD)**

##### **3.3.1.3.1 Rationale**

As the K.S.D. provided no information about the attitudes of the child towards those children whom they did not choose to depict, it was necessary to devise a way of assessing attitudes towards these other children. Asking the child to draw the whole class was impractical in terms of the size of the page, the relatively short concentration span of the six year old child, and often the physical tiredness of the hands which were unused to having to manipulate a thin pencil.

The children were therefore randomly placed in groups of six (and one group of seven), which included at least one child from each population group. This group reflected the reality of a classroom situation in which children have little choice over whom they have as classmates.



Aspects of focus in this picture were:

- To obtain information about the children's depiction of racial differences.
- To assess how the children viewed themselves and each of the children in this group in relation to themselves.
- To compare the depiction of themselves and others in the group, with the self-chosen friends and teacher in the K.S.D.

#### **3.3.1.3.2 Method**

The small groups were taken individually out of the classroom. Removing the group from the classroom not only prevented interruption from the rest of the class, but also helped the children get a better idea of whom exactly they were required to draw. The following instructions were given:

I want you to look at the children who are in this room with you very carefully because you must draw yourself and them. In your picture, you must all be doing something. You must draw yourself and them in such a way that I will know who is whom, without you having to tell me.

A few minutes were then spent checking on whether or not the children understood the instruction.

#### **3.3.1.3.3 Post drawing enquiry**

Each child was taken aside and asked what the figures in his or her drawing were doing (if unclear), and/or saying. He or she was also asked to describe the defining characteristics of each figure drawn. This questioning was done individually so that the possibility of the children using each other's explanations could be eliminated.

### **3.3.2 COLLATERAL INFORMATION**

#### **3.3.2.1. The teacher**

Because of the close relationship which the Junior Primary teacher builds with the children in her class she is able to offer a substantial amount of collateral information about each child. This was the situation with the teacher and her relationship with the children in this study. The children spontaneously bring news to school about happenings at home which is more often than not, "uncensored" by the child (for example, "My daddy walked out on my mommy"). Parents are encouraged to speak to the teacher whenever they wish, and each set of parents is also given a formal 15 minute interview with her at the end of each term. If a child begins to behave uncharacteristically at school, the parents are usually contacted for the purpose of discussing possible reasons for the behaviour.

In this study, the collateral information obtained from the teacher related to the child's academic performance, social ability, and behaviour in the classroom, as well as any information which the teacher could provide about the home circumstances.

#### **3.3.2.2 Classroom observation**

The general interactions of the children in the classroom were observed by the researcher, who also attended the school Republic Day assembly. The purpose of attending the assembly was to get an idea of the ethos of the school, and the injunctions which the children may possibly receive.

#### **3.3.2.3 News books**

As a means of gaining more information about the child and his or her depiction of him- or herself and his or her family in colour, each child's news book was examined. In most Sub A classrooms there is a short news period everyday.

However, the weekend news is also drawn in a book every Monday. After the children have related their news to the class they draw a picture relating to it with wax crayon in their news books. In the first few months of the school year, the teacher writes each child's news underneath the drawing. Later the children write their news themselves.

Two main reasons for looking at the news books were:

- To get an idea of the child's home situation.
- To see how the children used colour to depict themselves and others in their home environment.

### **3.4 THE MAIN STUDY: DATA ANALYSIS**

The data was analysed by means of:

- systems of drawing analysis.
- reference to post drawing inquiry.
- reference to collateral information.
- reference to the literature.

### 3.4.1 DRAWING ANALYSIS

Burns (1982:4) notes that the goal in the interpretation of drawings is to be able to read them like a book,

from left to right (or right to left), then vertically. Go over the [drawing] again and again, each time trying to pick up something that you have missed.

All the drawings were therefore often studied, and much more information was gleaned after a time, than on first perusal. A number of people, including those with no training in psychology, were also asked to give their responses and suggestions in relation to the drawings. This was done to balance possible subjectivity on the part of the researcher.

The instruments were first analysed separately (HFD, KSD and PGD), each having yielded twenty five drawings.

The analysis of the H.F.D. was done in accordance with the Koppitz (1968) scoring system for emotional indicators, bearing in mind the norms which she has set for different age groups [SEE ADDENDUM TWO].

Koppitz (1968:78) notes that "most investigators of HFD's ... have studied drawings of large groups of public school children [which] ... are usually obtained in the classrooms". She goes on to state that under these conditions, children who are emotionally and socially fairly well adjusted, rarely show deep emotional involvement in their performance.

Thus, although the pictures can be examined for emotional signs, from a clinical point of view, their content is sparse. However, children with severe emotional difficulties are likely to reflect their problems unwittingly in their drawings in the large group situation.

The interpretation of the KSD and the PGD was done along the lines of the interpretation of group drawings given by Klepsch et al. (1982) [SEE ADDENDUM

THREE]. However, the Koppitz (1968) norms were also used in this analysis. Other sources such as Furth (1988) and Burns (1982) were also consulted, and are referenced when directly used. Details of the criteria used are provided in the appendices and in chapters four and five where they bear direct reference to the discussion of results.

The dynamics in the PGD's were then compared with those found in the KSD's. The rationale behind this is that the way the child portrays the dynamics between himself/herself and children whom he or she may not necessarily choose as special friends, may be different from those in a picture of children he or she likes best. If the dynamics were problematic in both drawings, this could lead one to conclude that the child's social difficulties do not have to do with classroom integration. Also, the effect of the presence of, and relationship with the teacher could be examined.

A second phase of analysis involved within subject comparison: the three drawings of each child were interpreted, and then compared across the full sample. This led to a clustering of the data into four groups. These four groups, and their distinguishing criteria, are described in detail in Chapter Five. The grouped data was then examined and interpreted in terms of the aim of the study.

### **3.4.2 REFERENCE TO COLLATERAL INFORMATION**

Information obtained from the teacher and news books was used to verify and elaborate the drawing analyses. The news books also played a role in refining the methodology as detailed earlier (chromatic vs non-chromatic drawings).

### **3.4.3 REFERENCE TO THE LITERATURE**

Underlying the drawing analysis is a theoretical interpretation which is based upon the theories outlined in the literature review, and in particular the social-cognitive developmental theory proposed by Aboud (1988). This theoretical basis, as well as

other research findings mentioned in the first chapter, will form the major reference point in the discussion of the results.

It is acknowledged that drawing interpretation can be done from a variety of perspectives including a psychodynamic viewpoint (Rubin, 1987). Much can be seen in these drawings which, for example, is psychosexual in nature. However, although this viewpoint is valuable in contributing to a more indepth understanding of the child, it is not the focus of the present study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR : DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

Although there were 27 children in the class, two white children were absent during most of the week of the study, and therefore have not been included in the sample.

### **4.1 ANALYSIS OF EACH INSTRUMENT**

In total, seventy five drawings were analysed, each instrument involving the analysis of twenty five drawings. The analysis of the respective instruments yielded the following:

#### **4.1.1 THE HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING**

As would be expected from a non-clinical sample, the majority of the children (twenty) exhibited none or only one emotional indicator in their drawings. Five children had two or more emotional indicators, suggesting intrapersonal difficulties. These children also showed problems in their other drawings and were grouped separately (Group D). Two were white, two black and one coloured.

In the pilot study, the drawing of one child indicated that her intrapersonal difficulties were particularly severe [SEE ADDENDUM FOUR].

#### **4.1.2 THE KINETIC SCHOOL DRAWING**

It was noted that all the children chose to draw peers of their own racial group.

Ten drawings indicated difficulties with the teacher and peers of their own choice. Of these, one was by a coloured child, six were by white and three by black children.

#### **4.1.3 THE PEER GROUP DRAWING**

These drawings indicated that all the children were racially aware, and the drawings of all the black children suggested possible racial "misidentification". Eleven drawings revealed difficulties with peers, including those of the same racial group as the drawer. Of these, one was drawn by a coloured child, seven by white, and three by black children.

Looking at all the drawings as a whole, it was possible to isolate the following themes: gender and racial categorization, identity and "misidentification", in-group and out-group preference and socio-cognitive factors.

#### **4.2 THE DEPICTION OF DIFFERENCE**

The children's verbal responses to the post-drawing question ("How can I (the researcher) tell that this person is X.?" ) were varied, but the description of hair length, colour or texture was the most common identifying feature used by all except 4 children to describe one or more figures in the Peer Group Drawing [SEE ADDENDUM ONE].

Similar to the findings of Ramsey (1987), gender and racial categorizations predominated although delineation along the lines of gender was more apparent.



### **4.2.1 GENDER CATEGORIZATION**

The gender distinction was made by the depiction of gender-specific clothing (dresses as opposed to long pants or shorts), and length and, occasionally, style of hair (For example pony tails and ribbons for the girls). The positioning of the figures on the page also showed a clear division of the sexes, with boys and girls usually grouped separately. Aspects pertaining to gender categorization were more apparent than those pertaining to race (that is more gender-specific attributes were portrayed, and gender groupings were more distinct).

### **4.2.2 RACIAL CATEGORIZATION**

Only one child (coloured) used a racial description specifically ("She is an African"). Racial difference was depicted primarily in terms of hair length and texture. Skin colour represented by shading was used by only two of the children.

No distinction was made by either the white or coloured children in their depiction of one another. This was understandable due to the fact that, except for one coloured girl, hair texture in both these groups is similar.

Most of the whites and coloureds depicted the black children (and in particular the girls) with no hair, or short textured hair. In this way, their awareness of the difference of black girls was clearly portrayed.

The fact that the black girls were consistently portrayed with no hair could underline the fact that these children in particular did not conform with the white or coloured child's gender schemata in relation to hair. None of the white or coloured girls had hair as short, or as textured as the black children, and it appeared that this difference was particularly noticed. The hair of the black boys in comparison to the girls was not as noticeable in a group of boys whose hair was cut fairly short in accordance with school regulations. This marked difference of the black girls could

possibly be the reason why more negative attitudes appeared to be expressed towards these children than towards the black boys.

The white and coloured children appeared reluctant to shade their figures. It can be argued that the skin colour of some of the coloured children is not markedly different to that of the whites. However, a child with particularly dark skin was not given this distinction when portrayed in his own, or in the drawings of the other children. The post drawing discussion with these children was similar to the following which was held with A., a white girl [See Figure 1], who was the only child to shade the figure of a coloured child in her drawing.:

Question: How is N. (black girl) different?

A: Because she has no hair

Question: How else is she different?

A: (Long pause) Her skin, but I don't  
feel like drawing it.

Question: Why not?

A: I don't know.

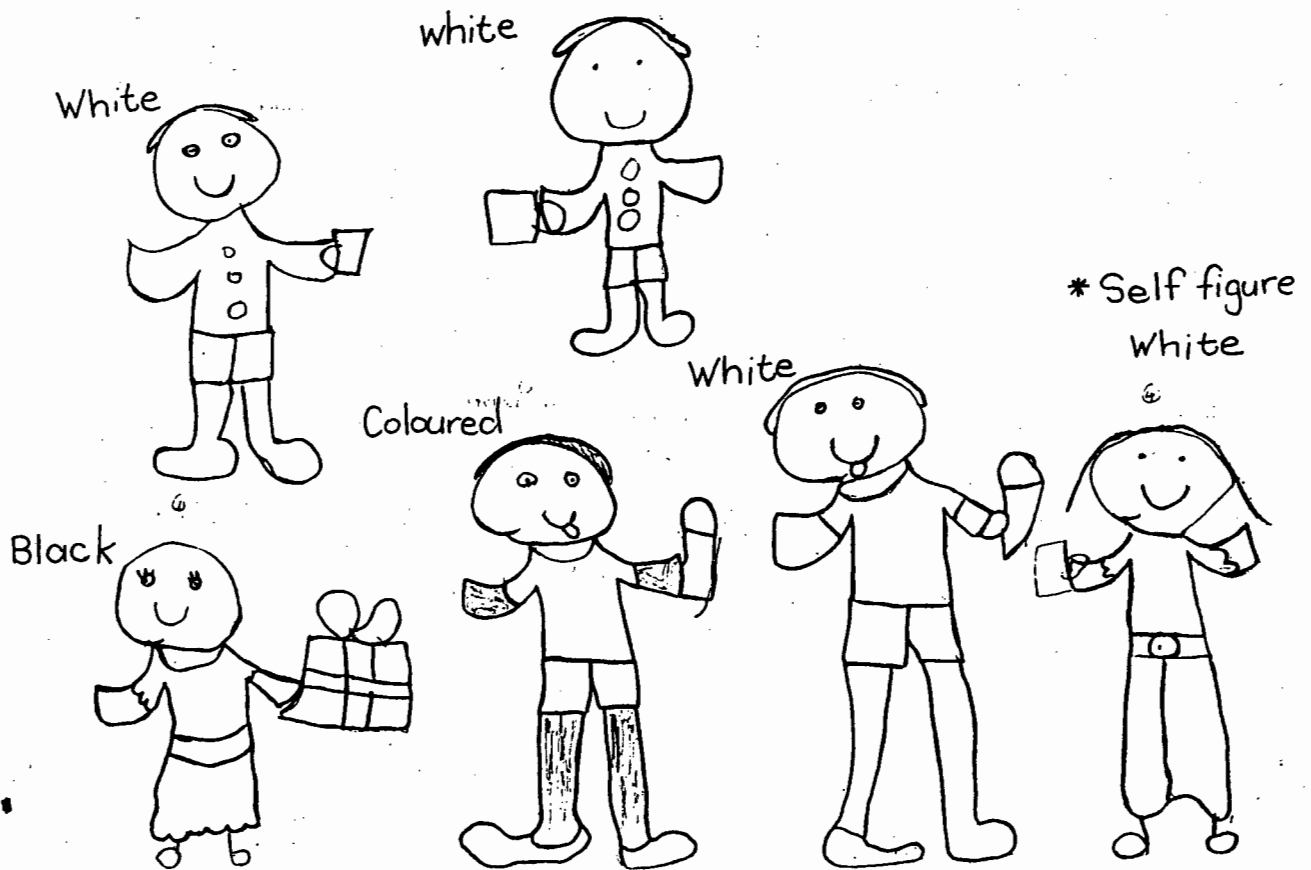
Question: Is there any other way you can make G.  
(coloured boy) look like G.?

A: No

Question: Are you sure?

A: Okay, I will colour in his skin.

FIG. 1



Only one child (white) spontaneously shaded the skin of the black children in her drawing. The figure of a fair-skinned coloured child was not shaded.

A reason why there may have been a reluctance to portray skin colour on the part of most of the children is that there was a large emphasis in the school upon the fact that "no matter what colour a person's skin is, people are basically the same", and for this reason "we must respect and like each other as people" [From an address given by the principal during a Republic Day assembly].

This is in direct contradiction to the cognitive stage of the six year old whose attention, according to Aboud (1988), is primarily centered upon external difference, rather than aspects of similarity. At the same time, however, the "moral

absolutism" of a child of this age group will dictate that the will of the principal and teachers should not be opposed. Hence the reluctance to mention skin colour as an aspect of difference, despite the fact that research has indicated that this is one of the most salient points of racial difference in the mind of the young child.

As adults tend to use skin colour as the primary reference point in the delineation of racial groups in South Africa (to the extent that people are labeled by their skin colour and not, for example, hair texture), they tend to push this aspect in their discussions relating to race, as could be seen in the principal's Republic Day speech. The call to ignore the superficial differences of colour could have been translated by the literal mind of the six year old that the depiction of difference in terms of skin colour is taboo. No specific injunctions are made to the same extent in relation to the need to ignore hair differences. Thus the young child who is focussing on difference may decide that the depiction of hair texture is acceptable.

Only one white child shaded the skin of all the black children in her drawing. According to her teacher, she was particularly mature, and one of the brightest children in the class. It is possible that this child's positive racial attitudes could have been related to the fact that she was at a more advanced stage of cognitive development than most of her classmates. She may have achieved cognitive flexibility which would have allowed her to understand similarities, as well as acknowledge external differences. However, this hypothesis would need to be confirmed by the use of tests involving conservation tasks. The drawing of this child supports Aboud's (1988) assertion that unprejudiced children are aware of the same racial differences as those who are prejudiced.

### 4.2.3 OTHER DEFINING FEATURES

As in Ramsey's (1987) study, there were children who mentioned small defining characteristics (For example ear size, or "a black spot" on the lip of a coloured child), which did not pertain to race or gender. However, all these children portrayed gender differences and also used hair features to identify and describe other children in their drawings (in terms of race and/or gender).

Some of the responses were egocentric in nature ("She is shorter than me") suggesting that the child was functioning in the preoperational stage in which attention is primarily focussed upon the self. Other children whose responses were less egocentric in nature could have been bridging the preoperational and concrete operations stage.

Although the black children conversed with one another in Xhosa, no child made a distinction in terms of language. However, this could have been due to the nature of the enquiry ("How can I tell that this is X?") which encouraged the children to focus upon concrete detail. This could also be why only one of the three Moslem children in the class specifically mentioned religion as a point of difference.

### 4.2.4 FIGURE PLACEMENT

An interesting finding in the chromatic drawings of the pilot study and the achromatic drawings of the main sample, was that the black or coloured child was placed by some of the white children in the centre of the group of children drawn. In the literature relating to drawing interpretation, a figure which is centrally placed could be one which is important to the child in some way (Furth, 1988).

This central placement of the black child in many of the drawings could possibly have been a reflection of the children's consciousness of the fact that classmates

who were other-than-white were an unusual phenomenon in recently opened white schools. White parents and adults in general were curious to see how these black children were adapting interpersonally and academically to the new environment. In the pilot study sample, only three children from a class of twenty two were other-than-white. The school (which was situated in a so-called upper middle-class white liberal area) was delighted to have them, and their central position in some of the children's drawings could be a reflection of the general sentiment.

### **4.3 IN-GROUP, OUTGROUP PREFERENCE**

In response to the instruction to draw "one or two of the friends in your class whom you like best", all the white children chose to depict whites, indicating an own-group preference.

Three of the coloured children showed an own-group preference. Five children chose to draw whites, although this response was complex. These children depicted whites with whom they had no pre-school history, and no contact outside school hours. When questioned, however, it became clear that their "very best friends" were not in the class and were either relatives (cousins), or lived nearby. They were not depicted in the drawings as the instruction was to draw only their classmates.

The neutrality of coloured children found in Aaron's (1991) research was not reflected in the drawings of the present study. Their Kinetic School Drawings depicted only coloured children showing an in-group preference. This may be related to out-of-school contact which will be discussed below.

Contrary to research outcomes relating to black minority children, all the black children chose to depict children from their own racial group, suggesting an own-group preference.

### 4.3.1 GROUP PREFERENCE AND PEER CONTACT

#### 4.3.1.1 Home Contact

As has been mentioned, an own-group preference was seen in the Kinetic School drawings of all the children. It became evident that peer contact at home was of far greater importance, and perhaps more meaningful than contact which took place only in the school setting. This was further outlined by the drawings of the three coloured children who, contrary to the instructions given, depicted coloured friends who were not classmates, but who lived nearby.

Thus it would seem that home contact appeared to be the major influential factor in the children's preference towards certain children. This supports Allport's (1954) assertion that interpersonal contact is of great importance in the creation of positive attitudes towards others.

Close friendships tended to be those which had been cemented by this home contact. Because of the segregation imposed by the Group Areas Act, these preferences were own-group based. It is possible that this situation will remain entrenched for many years to come, despite the revoking of the act. This is because it is unlikely that there will be a marked change in residential trends: because of fear of violence, few whites would choose to move to the black areas, while the inflated cost of white housing will preclude movement of many blacks into the white areas. Some white parents remarked to the class teacher that although they agreed with the principle of school desegregation, and were willing to have black children to play at their homes, they were unwilling to allow their own children into the townships. They cited township violence as the primary reason, but also mentioned the fact that they did not like the idea of their child "having to share a bed with a number of people" if he or she stayed the night. Thus it would seem that political, cultural and class issues were foremost in the minds of the parents. The prospect of reciprocation

of home contact was therefore limited. One white parent removed her child from the school after the first day because of the prospect of after-school contact. She stated that she had not realized how many black children would be in the class, and was worried about her child wishing to visit friends in other-than-white areas.

#### **4.3.1.2 History of contact**

Another influential factor in the children's choice of friends was the history of contact which occurred before school entry. Most children tended to draw those with whom they had had a longer history of contact, as opposed to the period of three months in which they had been together at school.

Most of the children had had regular home contact with the children whom they chose to draw in their KSDs (although in the case of some of the white children, this had to be arranged through parents who did the fetching and carrying). In the case of most of these children, there was also contact before school entry in terms of pre-school attendance.

### **4.4 IDENTIFICATION AND MISIDENTIFICATION**

Neither the white or coloured children showed misidentification with the black children. This is in line with other research findings (Milner, 1983; Ramsey, 1987; Aarons, 1991).

In the HFD's and PGD's, all the black children (including the boys) depicted themselves with Caucasian hair, and none of them depicted skin colour.

It is difficult to know whether or not these children were also obeying the adult injunctions relating to skin colour by omitting to include this feature in their drawings. However, the fact that they depicted the self figure with Caucasian hair indicates out-group identification, and is in accordance with general research findings relating to the misidentification of young children who are members of a



socially non-dominant group, with focal stimuli being white skin and straight hair. The white dominated, South African stratified society would serve to increase the young black child's identification with, and preference for whites. This situation was underlined by the school environment itself: all the white adults had high status jobs (principal, teachers and secretary) and the more menial tasks of cleaning and gardening, and the morning delivery of cups of tea to the teachers in their classrooms was done by black adults.

However, although the Human Figure Drawings of the black children revealed possible outgroup identification (in terms of self), their Kinetic School Drawings on the other hand showed an own group preference (in terms of peers). This is contradictory to general research findings.

The Kinetic School Drawing of one black child shows another departure from the trend outlined in the literature relating to the "misidentification" of the young child of a non-dominant group [See Figures 2., 3. and 4., below].

**FIG. 2**

**HFD**

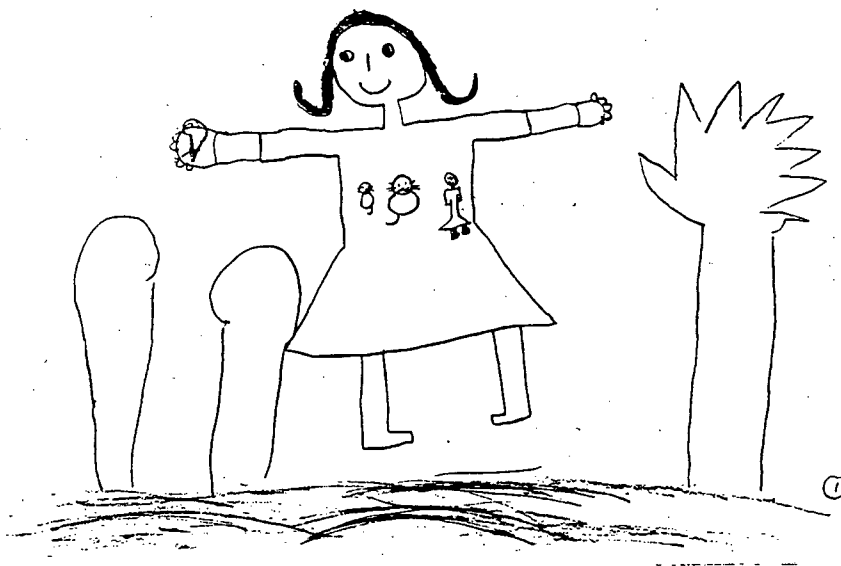


FIG 3

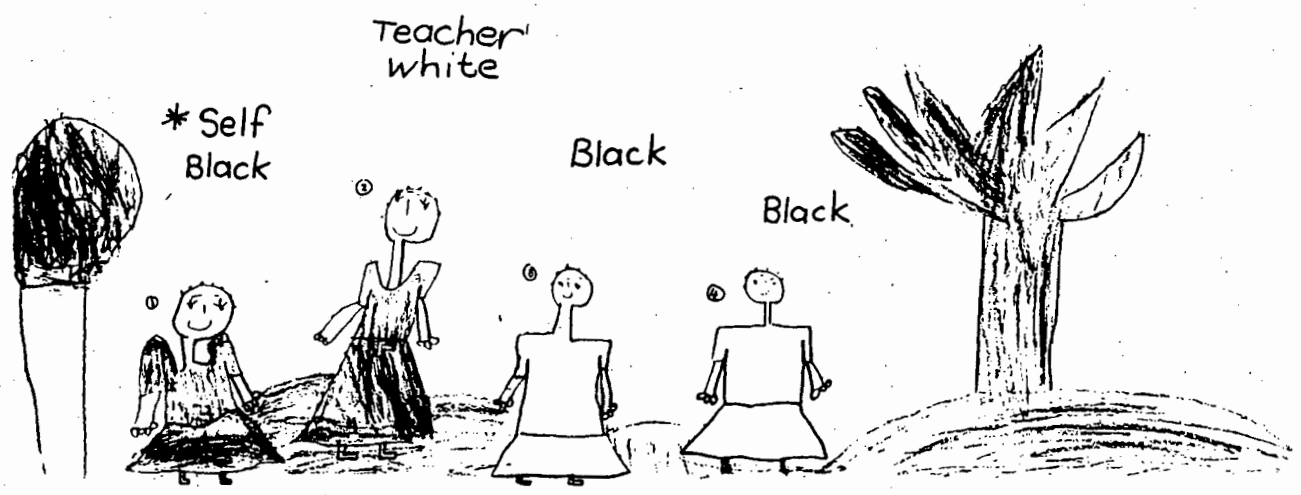
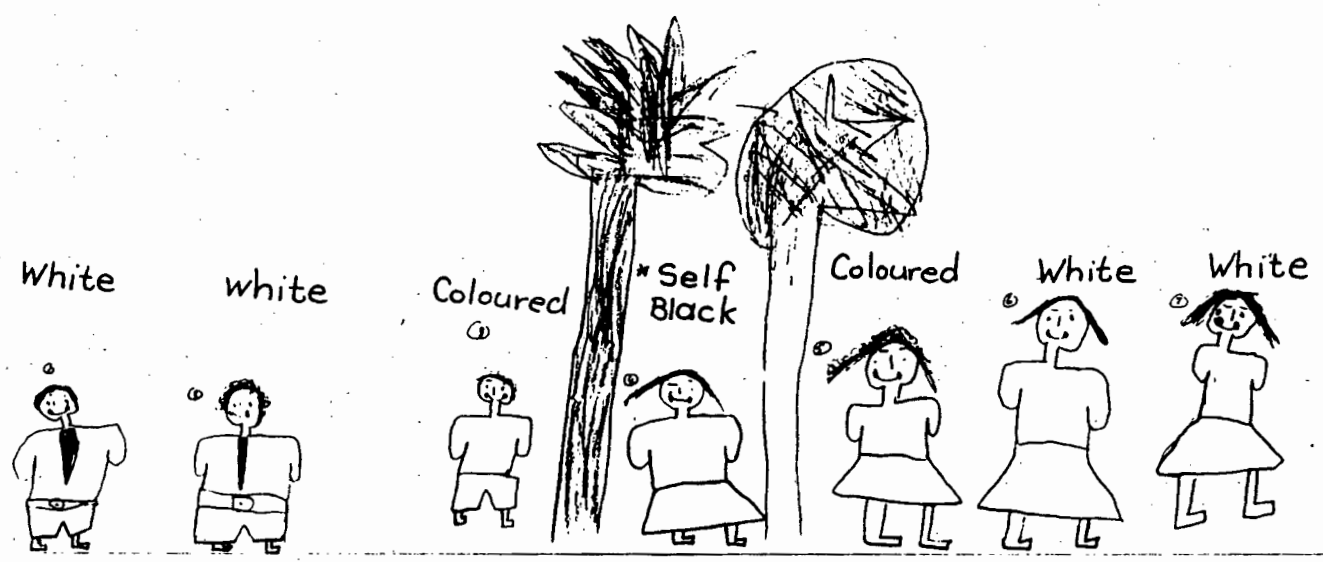


FIG 4



In her HFD [Figure 2], she depicted herself with Caucasian features. However, in her KSD [Figure 3] she gave all the black figures Negroid hair, and drew her white teacher in a similar fashion. This suggested that she had a positive own group identity which she conferred upon her teacher. Her PGD [Figure 4] on the other hand indicated an identification with the white and coloured children in her group (seen in the depiction of Caucasian hair). The misidentification evident in the Peer Group Drawing of this child could be related to the possibility that she wished to fit in with the majority (that is with regard to number), which in her group happened to be white children. This is in keeping with the fact that at school entry, the peer group begins to assume importance in the mind of the child, and there is a great desire for peer acceptance (Maccoby, 1980). In particular there would be a desire for acceptance by peers of the same gender (as was indicated in the gender division in all the drawings). Her identification with white (and perhaps coloured children) in the forced-choice situation could have related to a need to belong. According to Aboud (1988), at this stage, acceptance by the peer group would involve similarity of appearance, thus this child has portrayed herself with Caucasian features. Bearing in mind the fact stated in the literature that a child from a socially subservient group would tend to identify with a group with a higher status, it would be expected that she would draw herself with the Caucasian features of her teacher. Identification was evident in other respects such as body position, dress and shading. However, she "misidentified" her teacher by conferring upon her her own racial feature of negroid hair. This could point towards positive own-group bias.

The fact that the theme of misidentification is complex was also shown in the news books of some of the black children in drawings depicting family or friends from their own racial group. The racial features of these individuals were accurately depicted which suggests a positive own group identity. At the same time,

"misidentification" was shown in the HFD's, PGD's, and in most of the KSD's of these black children.

## CHAPTER FIVE : INTERPRETATION OF GROUPED DATA

Having analysed the drawings separately, it was possible to isolate trends and on this basis divide the children into four groups as follows:

- **GROUP A:** This group consisted of eight children (two coloured girls, two white boys and three white girls) whose Human Figure drawings indicated no significant emotional indicators, and whose Kinetic School and Peer Group Drawings indicated no interpersonal difficulties.
- **Group B:** This group consisted of seven children (three black and four coloured. No white children formed part of the group) whose Human Figure, and Kinetic School drawings indicated no difficulties, but whose Peer Group drawings indicated difficulties of an interpersonal nature when in a forced choice situation.
- **Group C:** This group consisted of six children (four white, and one black) whose Human Figure drawings indicated no significant emotional indicators, but whose Kinetic School, and Peer Group drawings indicated difficulties at an interpersonal level with both adults and peers.
- **Group D:** This group consisted of four children (two black, one white and one coloured) whose Human Figure drawings showed significant emotional indicators (both at intra- and interpersonal level) and whose Kinetic School, and Peer Group drawings also revealed difficulties in interpersonal relationships.

One child's drawing could not be assigned to any of these groups and hence she is reported on separately.

### 5.1 GROUP A

This group consisted of two coloured girls, two white boys and three white girls. No black children formed part of this group. These children were either from the top or average ability groups of the class and showed no negative emotional indicators on their Human Figure Drawings, had unproblematic Kinetic School Drawings, and collateral information indicated that there were no problems at school, or in the home situation. The Peer Group Drawing was used to examine the racial awareness

and racial attitudes of these children when in an inter racial contact situation not of their own choosing.

Eight main features were isolated in the analysis of the drawings namely,

- omissions
- barriers (object barriers and human barriers: Furth, 1988)
- placement of figures (on the page, and in the group)
- similarity of activity
- similarity of body position and clothing
- size of figures
- general mood of picture

In all of the drawings the mood was happy, and all the children were engaged in the same, or related activities.

A definite gender distinction was portrayed in the drawings with boys shown together (usually on one side of the page, and girls on the other side). This distinction was often underlined by similar gender specific clothing, and in two cases, similar body position of the respective genders. In one drawing the gender distinction was emphasised by the portrayal of a physical barrier (train and railway tracks) while in the drawing of one girl, all the boys were omitted.

Because gender appears to be an important distinction made by the children, it should be seen as significant when a child of the same gender as the drawer is in some way removed from the gender group or omitted from the picture. This occurred in drawings of three of five girls in this group (the three all being white). In these three drawings the black child was omitted, or was removed from the self

figure and depicted differently in terms of clothing [See Figure 5]. In the drawings by the other two girls the black girl was depicted as the smallest [See Figure 6].

FIG 5

PGD

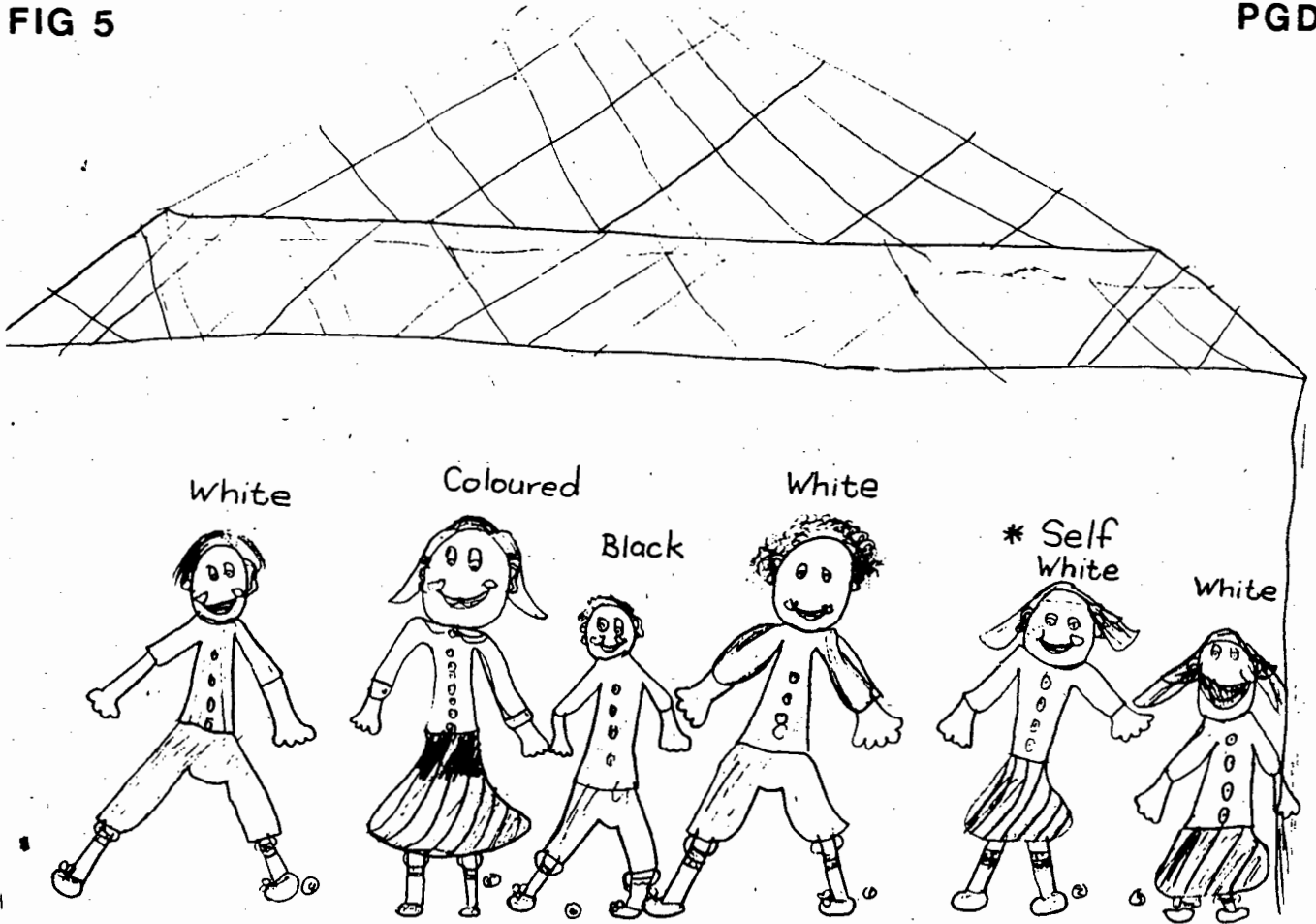
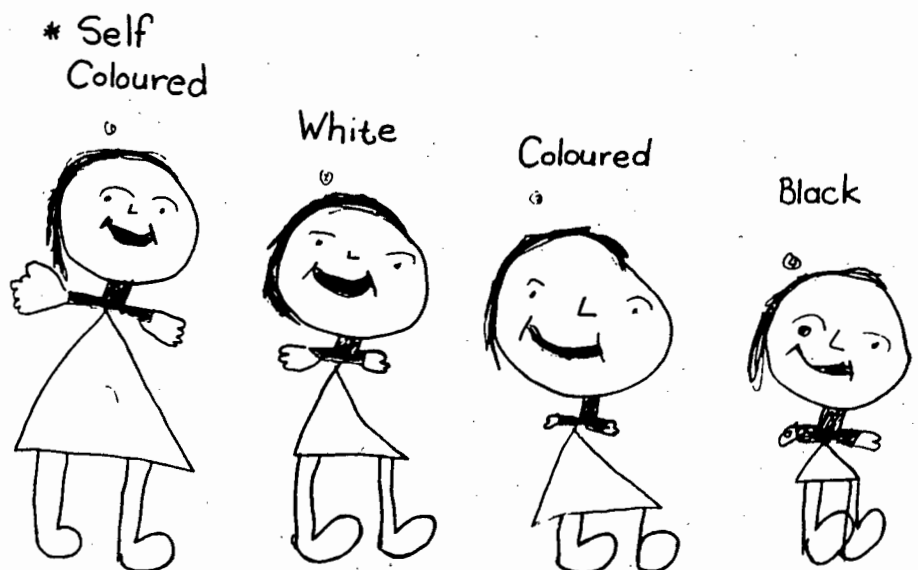


FIG 6

PGD



The distancing of a child from the gender group occurred only in the drawings of the girls, and in each drawing it was the black girl or, in the case of one drawing, a coloured girl with Negroid hair who was depicted as removed [See Figure 5]. In the same drawings, however, the black and coloured boys were included in the boy-gender group. Of note was the inaccuracy in Figure 5 where the black boy was portrayed as the smallest child in the picture (in reality he was the biggest child in the class). It would seem from the drawings that the white and coloured girls' attitudes towards black boys were less negative than those shown towards black girls.

In the drawings by boys, gender rather than race was used as a means of depicting difference. In terms of the portrayal of a within-gender racial attitude, Figure 7 (white boy) was the most positive.

Not only was the self figure next to a black boy but he was leaning slightly towards him and their hands were touching. In giving collateral information about this child the teacher stated that he was one of the more mature children of the class, from a close family. The parents were involved in a church which actively encourages racial integration with reciprocal visiting of the homes of members of the mixed-race congregation. The use of the gender boundary precluded an assessment of this child's attitude towards the black girl in the group, although this girl was set slightly apart from two white girls. However, this could be an underlining of difference, rather than attitude per se.

Figure 8 shows a gender separation in terms of positioning on the page.

This white boy included a coloured boy in his own gender group, and although he positioned the black girl as furthest from the self figure, a white girl was positioned further away. The figures between the self figure and the coloured and black



children might indicate barriers. However, the positioning of these other-than-white children do not indicate the child's negative racial attitude as clearly as that shown in the girls' drawings.

FIG 7

PGD

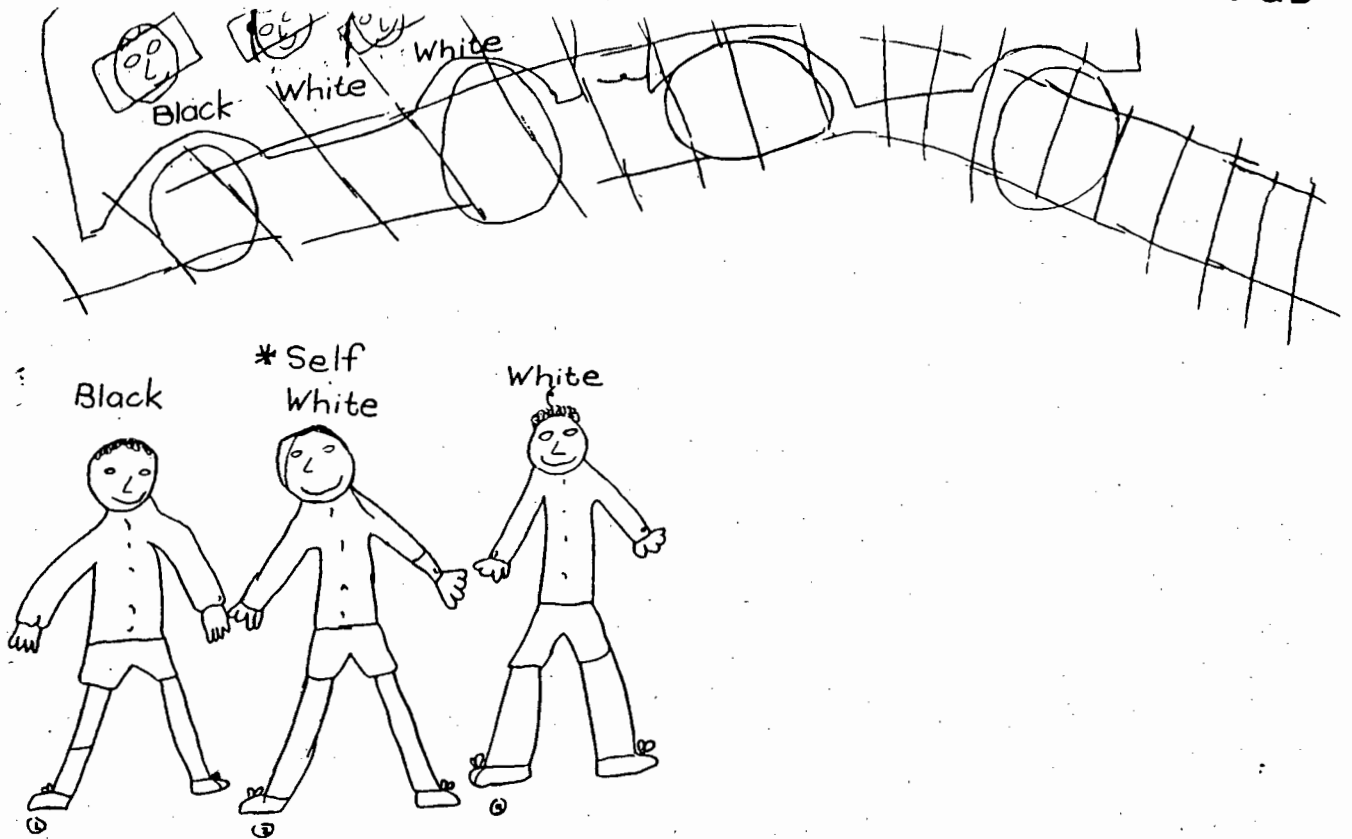


FIG 8

PGD



As no coloured boys formed part of this sample, a gender difference in attitude could not be assessed in relation to coloured boys.

All the drawings by this group, including those of the coloured children, positioned the self figure the closest to the white children in their drawings.

## **5.2 GROUP B**

The HFD of this group of children indicated no significant emotional difficulties shown in the Human Figure drawings. The Kinetic School drawings revealed that they felt comfortable with their teacher, and also with certain children whom they liked the most in the class. However, the Peer Group Drawings of these children suggested that they were experiencing problematic interpersonal relationships with other classmates.

The group was comprised of seven children; three black and four coloured. No white children formed part of this group. Six of these children were from the bottom ability group. One child was in the average group.

The eight main features used in the analysis of the drawings of Group A were also used for this group. The mood of the Kinetic school drawings was happy, and a sense of unity was conveyed. The relationship with the teacher appeared to be good. In all the drawings barriers were absent, and there were no encapsulated figures. Similar treatment of body posture, clothing and hair of the self figure and other figures drawn indicated positive feelings towards those depicted. Each child had placed him- or herself next to the teacher, which also suggested a positive feeling in this regard. The self figure was drawn either larger, or the same size as his or her peers, and the teacher was appropriately larger. A significant factor found in two of the drawings was that the instruction to draw classmates had been ignored, and peers (for example neighbourhood friends or relatives) who were not classmates

were depicted. This could have been an auditory retention difficulty or could have suggested that these children did not feel comfortable with any of their classmates.

There was a marked difference shown in the Peer Group Drawings with the predominant feature being the isolation or devaluation of the self figure. This was shown by means of barriers between the self and others, the separate encapsulation of self and others, the omission of the self figure from the drawing, or the depiction of the self figure as smaller and weaker than the others. Two of the drawings represented all the figures as having short arms and no hands which, according to Koppitz (1968:62) suggests a difficulty in making contact, or "a tendency to withdraw, to turn inwards towards oneself".

According to the teacher, one of the children of this sample was beginning to manifest behavioural problems. Further investigation would be needed as to the exact cause of this behavioural change. However, the Peer Group Drawing of this child suggested that feelings of isolation in the classroom setting significantly contributed to the problem.

The drawings of one of the children from this group are included below. A comparison of the KSD and the PGD together with collateral information is provided.

FIGURE 9

**THE KSD:** This child centered herself on the page between her teacher and her friend who were both leaning towards her. The friend was not a classmate (a cousin). They were involved in the same activity ("going to play with a sand game"), indicating a feeling of companionship. The table was not forming a barrier between any of the figures. Similarity of dress and body position indicated identification with both the teacher and friend.

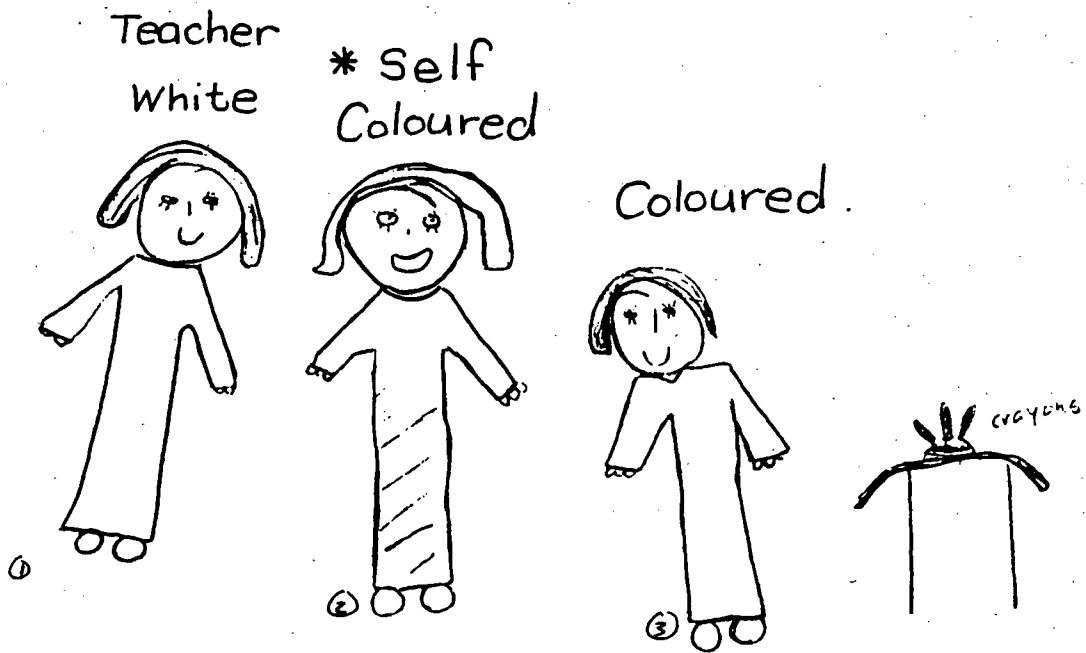
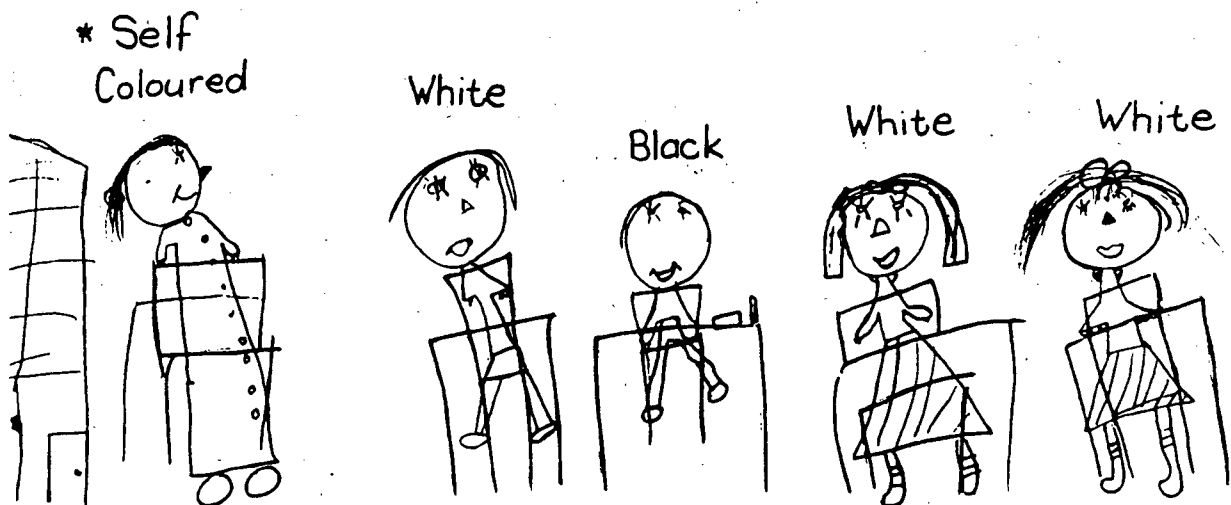


FIGURE 10

**THE PGD:** Features in this drawing formed a marked contrast to those portrayed in the KSD. The self figure was separated from her own gender by "boy barriers", and also depicted as different from the other girls in terms of dress and body position. She emphasised her separateness from the rest of the group by drawing herself slightly apart, and her isolation from each child by encapsulating each figure. All the figures had short arms which indicated a difficulty in reaching out to make contact, and the arms (the "contact" parts of the body) of the other children were encapsulated, emphasising the inability of others to reach out to her (Klepsch et al.). The self figure was facing the rest of the group, and her arms were not encapsulated. This reflected a desire to make contact with the others.

**COLLATERAL INFORMATION:** This child's behaviour began to deteriorate approximately one month after the school year had begun. She often stole items from the classroom. Her mother had also begun to experience problems with her at home.



It was clear that some black and coloured children were finding classroom integration in a white school difficult. With the exception of one child, these children were in the below average ability group. A reason for this could have been the big adjustment which was necessary for these children to be able to cope with their entry into a white school. Another reason could be a possible unreadiness for formal education due to various factors such as the discrepancy of the pre-school education given before school entry. The resultant poor academic achievement was likely to contribute to their feelings of inadequacy in the classroom.

It was clear that the children of this group were having adjustment difficulties and were in need of intervention. This intervention would need to be multifaceted including self esteem building, curriculum changes and school system reconstruction.

The interpersonal difficulties felt by the black and coloured children in group B cannot be attributed only to the negative attitudes directed towards them by their classmates however, but must also be seen in relation to the broader system of which they are a part. This system has primarily a white cultural bias to which the coloured and black children have had to adapt, with less of an adaptation having to be made by the coloured children who were from a background which was closer to the white than the black group.

In terms of the National Education Policy Act 39, of 1967, "the mother tongue of the pupil shall be the official medium of instruction" which is "Afrikaans or English". This stipulation has been maintained in the official open school policy. The implied official negation of mother tongue of the black child has social and educational ramifications for these children. Although at this stage it would be a complex task to cater for the mother tongue of the few black children in predominantly white schools, the fact that these children presently have to cope with instruction in a language with which they are unfamiliar would increase their stress vulnerability.

The "Christian National Education" bias of the white schools, which has as its point of departure the white cultural group, also serves to hinder the integration process of black and coloured children, who not only have to cope with the naturally stressful transition period of entering formal schooling for the first time, but also a culture shock. Nevertheless, important points of difference with regard to this group (such as religion and cultural custom) are not being acknowledged. This is despite the official recommendation in Act 39 which acknowledges the need for a general introduction of all pupils "to a wider cultural world". At present, the respective cultural backgrounds of the coloured and black children are not being formally acknowledged in the classroom. This is likely not only to create a feeling of negation in the children of the unacknowledged cultures, but also to deprive all the children of a valuable learning experience.

This situation could not necessarily have been prevented by the teacher or the school who were not given the time to become adequately prepared in terms of background knowledge of what is needed for the successful introduction of Sub A children of other races into the school. Teachers in general have also had to cope with academic problems due to the vast discrepancy of the educational backgrounds of the black children entering school. For Sub A children this relates to the discrepancy in the quality of preschool education which plays a vitally important role in the readiness for formal learning.

At the same time there was a real desire on the part of the principal and teachers for the successful integration of all the children. However, because of the pressing need for successful integration, differences were being overlooked as far as possible, and the stress was upon the theme of similarity, rather than difference. However, as Aboud (1988) points out, difference rather than similarity is the salient feature in the mind of the young child, and external manifestations of difference are particularly relevant. It is upon these differences that racial attitudes are formed.

The black and coloured children were not only likely to be highly aware of their own physical differences, but also very attuned to the attitudes of their white peers which are based on these very differences. Thus in their attempt to "white wash" difference, adults were unaware of the fact that the "different" children were having a particularly difficult time. There was such an emphasis upon the theme that everybody is inherently the same, that any difference in terms of language, race and culture was not being acknowledged.

### **5.3 GROUP C**

The six children in this group (one black and four white children) produced Human Figure Drawings which depicted no significant emotional indicators. However, their Kinetic School Drawing and Peer Group Drawing revealed interpersonal problems in relation to both adults (the teacher) and peers.

In the Kinetic School Drawings the isolation of the self figure was depicted and the teacher was presented in a negative light, either as physically punitive, distant (space and barriers) and/or ineffectual (tiny). Self and peers were portrayed either in a situation of rivalry (ball games) and/or barriers were present. Short arms indicating a lack of contact were also present in some of the drawings.

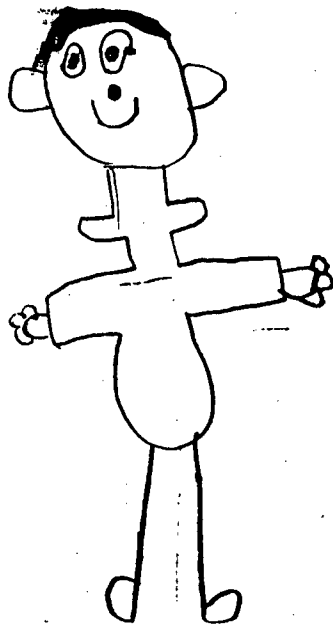
The teacher stated that she was not aware of marked interpersonal problems with these children, and as far as she was aware, all of their home environments were stable. They were part of the average ability group.



The Human Figure Drawing, Kinetic School Drawing and Peer Group Drawing of one of these children are displayed, and briefly discussed below.

**FIGURE 11**

**The HFD: AGE 6.8:** There were no significant emotional indicators according to the age norms (Koppitz, 1968).



**FIGURE 12**

**THE KSD:** This drawing depicted all the figures as separated in terms of distance, and encapsulation. The absence of arms indicated a lack of contact between all the figures drawn. The size of figures also suggested a feeling of being dwarfed in the classroom environment (original size of self figure: 1 cm).

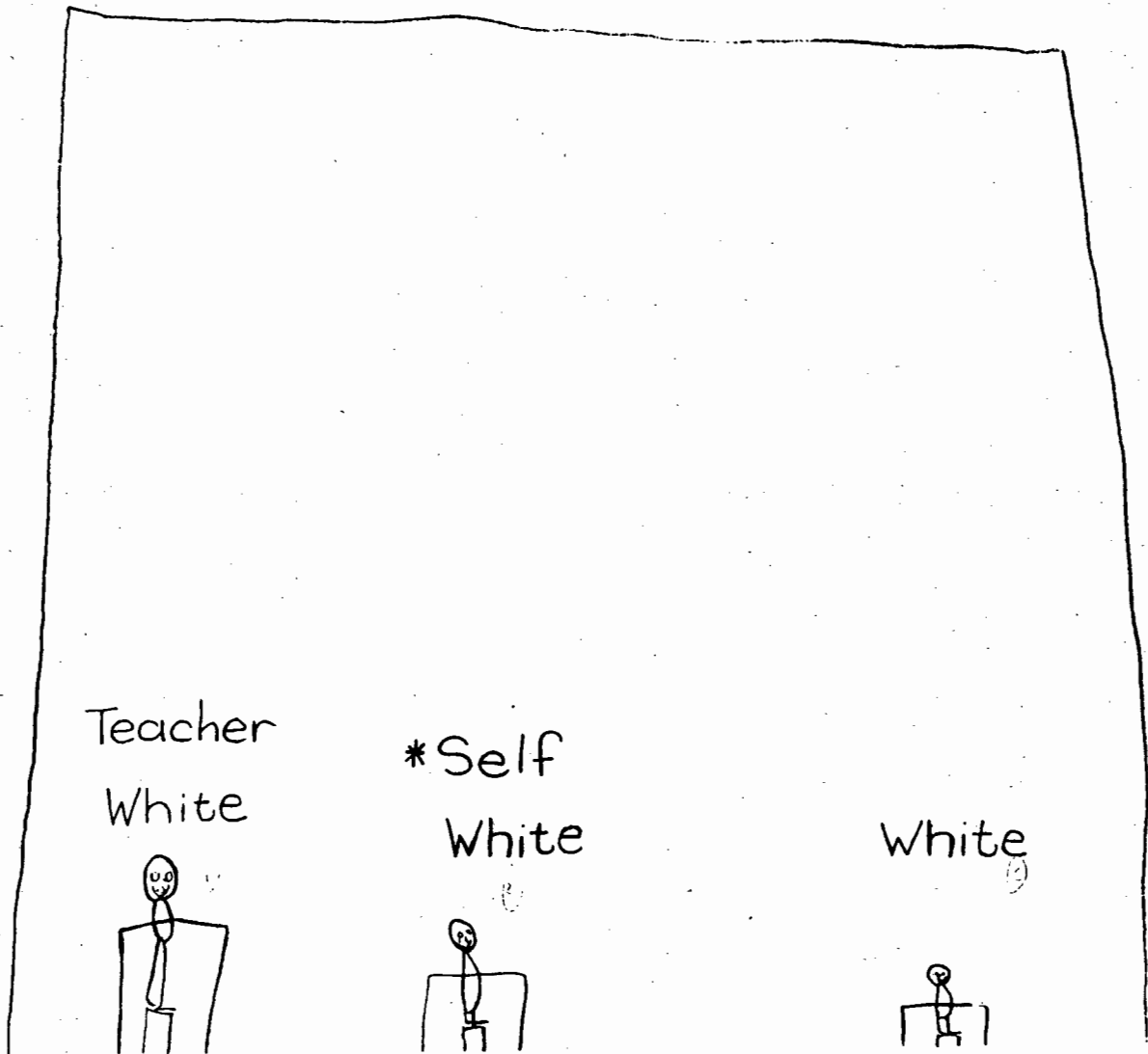
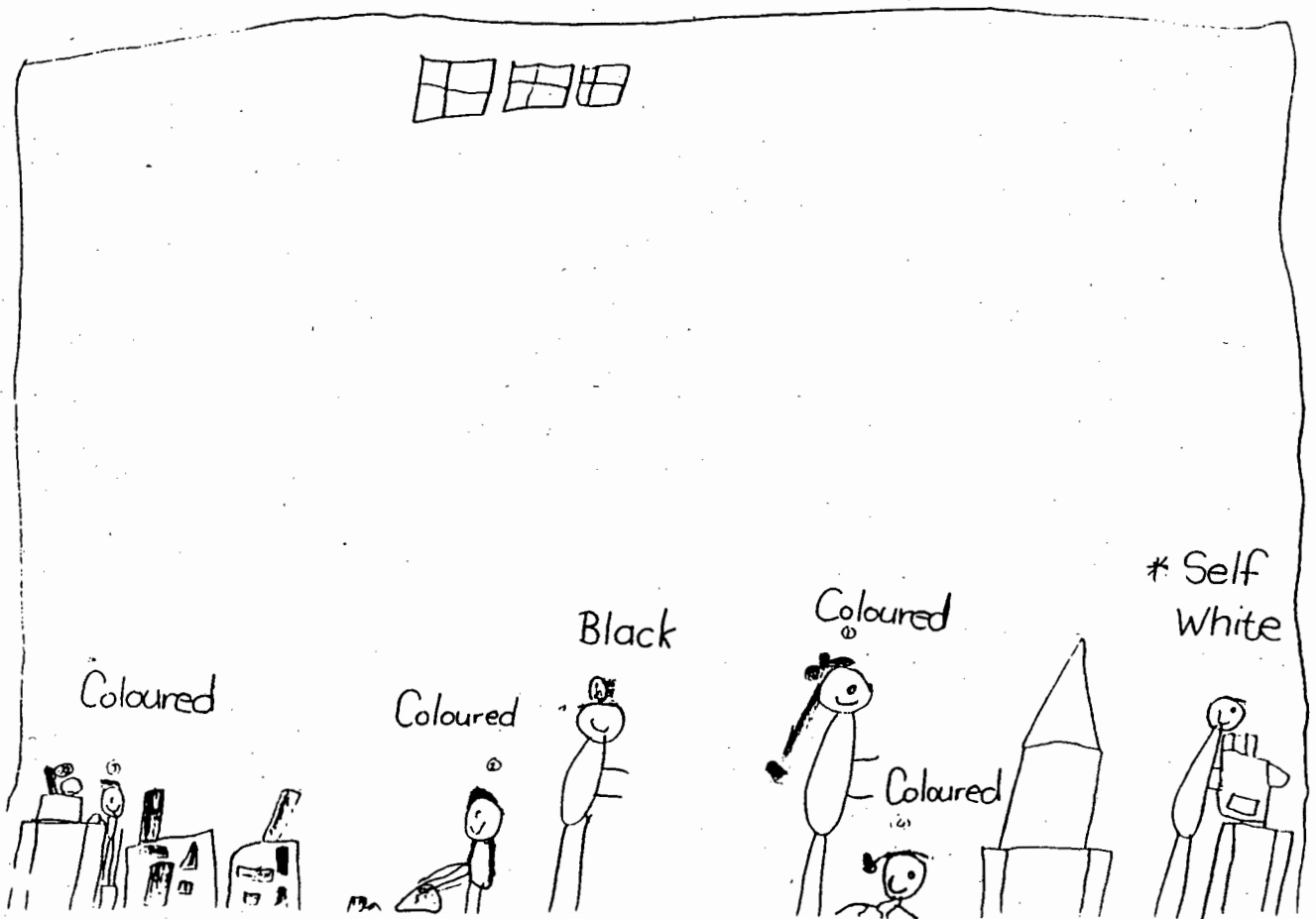


FIGURE 13

**THE PGD:** The self figure was turned away from the rest of the figures drawn, and there was also a barrier placed between the self figure and the other children, none of whom were white. It was interesting to note that the drawer had also distanced himself from his own gender group, using the girl figures as barriers. He also depicted the boys as facing away from him.



To some extent the feelings reflected in the drawings of this group may be a direct result of classroom integration. The fact that four of these children were white could suggest the feeling of threat which some members of the white group are feeling in relation to the current political situation. However, these pictures could also be highlighting the fact that children who tend to feel generally isolated from their peers, may hold the most negative racial attitudes towards black and coloured children.

The children who form part of this group could be viewed as being at risk, and without appropriate intervention, they could develop clinical problems such as anxiety, avoidant or oppositional disorders. Small group work with a benign adult, emphasising social skills self-confidence building seem indicated for this group, in addition to more systemic changes.

#### **5.4 GROUP D**

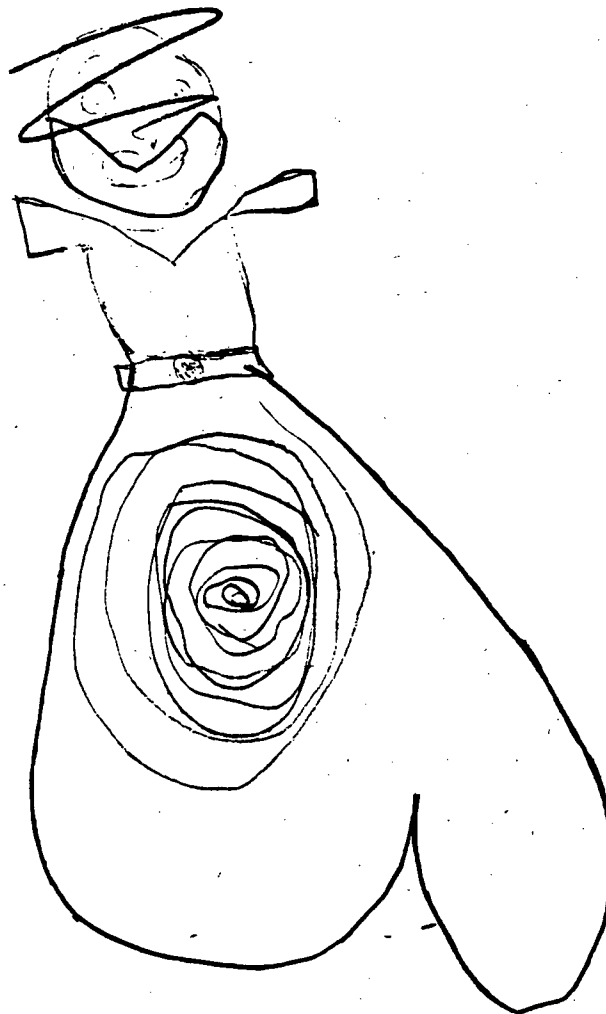
This sample included four children whose drawings clearly depicted feelings of isolation, anger or anxiety. Two of these children were black, one white and one coloured. The children were experiencing difficulties which were intrapersonal, as well as interpersonal in relation to both adults and peers with a negative relationship being shown to the teacher, as well as to peers.

Collateral information revealed problems which ranged from exposure to township violence to family difficulties (for example divorce or separation of parents).

The HFD, KSD and the PGD of one of these children are displayed below.

**FIGURE 14****THE HFD: AGE: 7.4: EMOTIONAL INDICATORS:**

- excessive erasures (intense anxiety: Koppitz, 1968)
- erasure and crossing out of face.
- no feet
- Short arms
- No hands
- Poor integration of body parts



**FIGURE 15**

**THE KSD:** The stick figures indicated withdrawal and evasiveness on the part of the child (Koppitz, 1968). This could suggest an unwillingness to comply with the instructions of the researcher. Transparencies indicated a tendency towards acting out behaviour (Koppitz, 1968). Each of the figures drawn faced away from the self figure, or were removed by barriers. This indicated that she was feeling isolated and rejected in the classroom situation. The friends were depicted as tiny and ineffectual. Only the self figure had feet which indicated that she felt that she had to rely on herself - all the other figures having no "feet to stand on", suggesting an inability to be supportive in any way. (Koppitz, 1968).

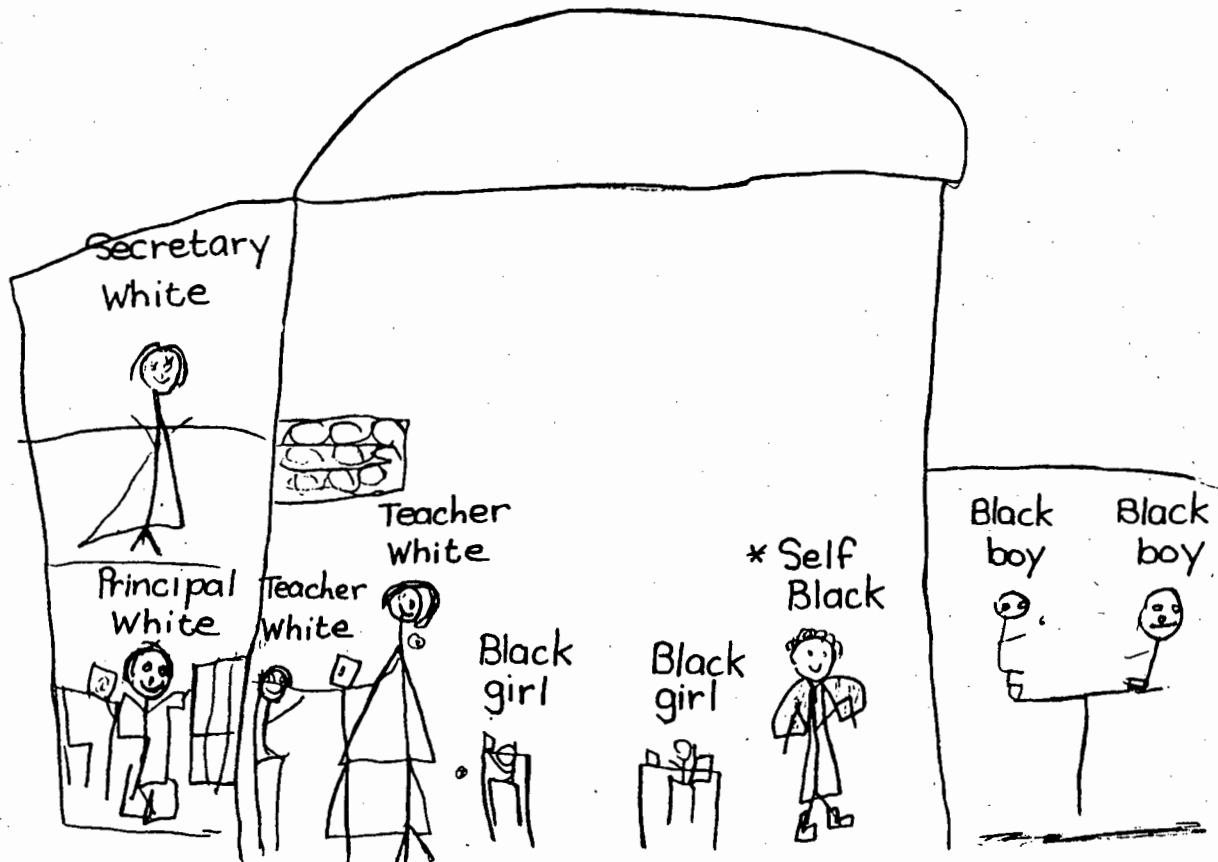
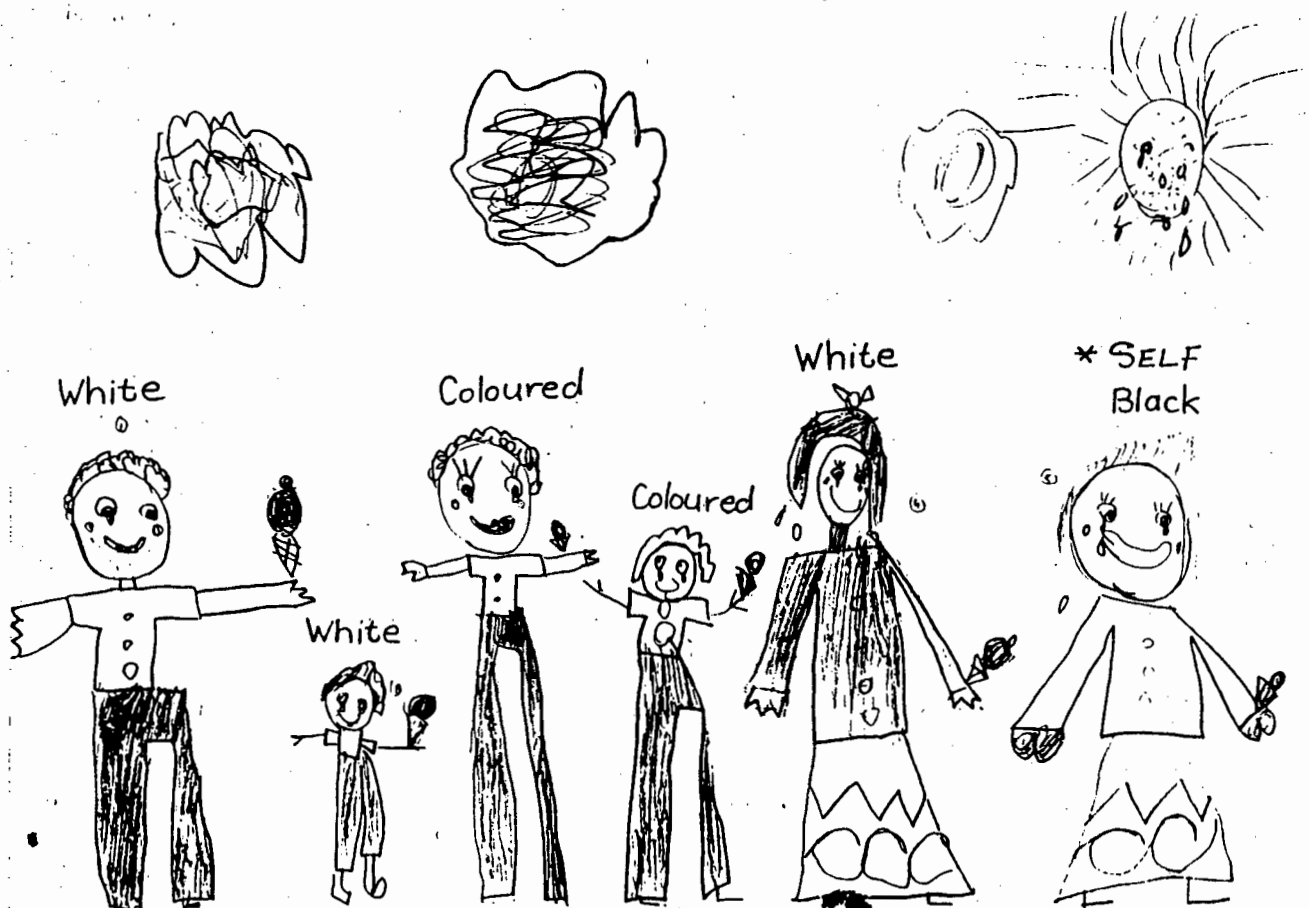


FIGURE 16

**THE PGD:** The self figure was positioned next to the white girl, and a need to identify with her was shown by the similarity of body position and clothing. She drew all the figures with pointed fingers indicating that she felt them to be aggressive towards her (Burns, 1972), or stick-like hands (an inability of others to make proper contact). The depiction of her own hands however, did not suggest the same aggression, which indicated that she wished to make contact with the other children. Initially she drew each child smiling, and each was given ice cream, further indicating a wish to relate positively. However, she later added tears to each figure, including tears on the face of the sun, indicating her sadness and frustration at her inability to make the contact which she desires. She then added storm clouds, and placed spots the face of the sun. During the drawing process, she became progressively more agitated, and finally flung down the drawing and ran out of the room.

**COLLATERAL INFORMATION:** N. had experienced township violence, and her home situation was unstable. She was struggling in the below average ability group of the class.



Owing to the fact that intrapsychic functioning in all the children of this sample was impaired they might merit a Psychiatric diagnosis. Specialized intervention such as play therapy, self concept work and parental counselling or family therapy would then be indicated.

### **5.5 IDIOSYNCRATIC PROFILE**

There was only one child whose drawings showed a profile which did not fit into any of the above groups. She had severe eye problems and motor difficulties and was soon to be referred to a special school. She presented a slightly different picture from the children in Group D: Her Human Figure Drawing showed significant emotional indicators (indicating intra- as well as interpersonal problems), and interpersonal problems were also shown in her Peer Group Drawing. However, her Kinetic School Drawing did not exhibit interpersonal problems. It is interesting that this child, who is to be removed from the mainstream presented a profile which did not fit with those children in the mainstream group.

### **5.6 GENERAL OBSERVATION**

In the classroom, all the children interacted well. Class games and activities were freely shared. This was in line with the positive impressions in the media which were confirmed by Sub A teachers. The black children tended to speak to one another in Xhosa, but also conversed freely with the others in English. However, bearing in mind the fact that the social situation has a major influence upon whether or not attitudes will be reflected in behaviour, the outward sign of integration in this context cannot be generalized to underlying attitudes and feelings.



According to the teacher the coloured children were integrating better than the black children who tended to stick together in their respective gender groups in the playground.

It would thus appear that within the classroom situation in which general interaction and sharing was expected and encouraged, the behaviour of the children was in accordance with these expectations. In the less structured environment of the playground, the separation of the black children was more evident.

The remarks made by teachers and quotes from the media (which were recorded in the first chapter) can be seen as responses to the overt signs exhibited by the children, but the general healthy adaptation to integrated schooling inferred in the comments could only be applied to children who were similar to those of Group A in this study. It was clear that many children were not adapting well to desegregated schooling.

## CHAPTER SIX : CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

### 6.1 GENERAL CONCLUSION

Similarly to other research findings, the children in this study were found to be racially aware. Hair length and texture appeared to be the most salient point of reference with regard to race, although there was also an implicit awareness of skin colour. This awareness, however, appeared to be masked in conformity with adult injunctions relating to the need for "colour blindness" in the newly desegregated school system.

It was also apparent that the children held definite racial attitudes, with white children showing an own-group bias, and out-group prejudice.

The main targets of the prejudice of most of the white and coloured children in the class were the black girls and in one case, a coloured girl with Negroid hair.

In keeping with international research findings, the black children in this study tended to show an identification with whites. However, it was also evident that this identification bias was situational. When representing themselves amongst white and coloured peers, the black children showed an identification with the white children (evident mainly in hair length and texture). On the other hand, an own group preference was evident when children were given a choice of figures to depict from a known sample of children.

Contrary to the results of Aaron's (1991) study in which the coloured children of her sample were found to be neutral in terms of their out-group attitudes, the children in this case study showed a definite Pro-white bias, and in the case of the coloured girls, a prejudice against black girls.

It would appear that out-of-school interpersonal contact, and the duration of this contact may also have been an influencing factor in friendship choices.

One feature which stood out in particular was that there were children in the classroom who were reacting adversely to the desegregation. Their drawings revealed negative reactions such as feelings of isolation and rejection or, in some cases, aggression. These signs were the most marked amongst the black children, but were also shown by some of the coloureds and whites. All the children whose drawings indicated problems in the area of peer relationships were of primary concern. If no appropriate intervention is provided, they are in danger of developing intra- and interpersonal difficulties. One of these children was already beginning to exhibit overt clinical signs (stealing) which could have been a response to the isolation which she was feeling in the desegregated classroom.

The reason why the black and coloured children were manifesting signs of problematic interpersonal relationships may be only partly due to the negative attitudes which their white peers were expressing towards them. Another important influencing factor was that they had entered a system which had been inadequately prepared for them, in terms of the pro-white legislation in relation to language and culture, and in relation to teacher preparation and training.

## **6.2 OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

From a systems theory perspective, the school can be seen as the focal system which comprises many sub-systems which include the staff, the parent body and the children. The school is also part of a wider system, the Department of Education and Culture. At the same time the supra-system, the current political, social and economic climate of the country also exerts a major influence.

It should be stressed that for the effective change in the racial attitudes of the children, change has also to take place within all the subsystems, and also within the encompassing supra-system. As has been mentioned, change was already occurring in the political context which led to the beginning of school desegregation, and there

were also other changes (for example, the abolishment of the Population registration, and Group Areas acts) which are hopefully heralding a "New South Africa". However, in certain respects, it will be many years before the effects of this change will be felt. For example, although the Group Areas Act has been abolished, the ideal of children of all races living within the feeder area of the school will take a long time to be accomplished. Thus it is likely that greater interpersonal contact (stressed as an important factor in the literature, and underlined in this study) will be largely restricted to that which is created within the school context.

It is evident that changes still need to be made in terms of the ethos within the Education Department of which the school is a part. For example, instead of the stress upon a white-biased, culturally determined education, attention should be paid to a wider view of cultural education. The limited view of the "mother tongue" as being only English or Afrikaans should also be addressed.

In a predominantly white school, it is logical that instruction should be in the language of the majority of the pupils. However, bearing in mind that the preoperational phase is the optimal time for the acquisition of language, it is possible to make space in the Junior Primary curriculum for the teaching of Xhosa which will be of benefit to all the children. At present, the official negation of the mother tongue of the black children in a predominantly white school suggests a lack of sensitivity towards these children. This lack of sensitivity might filter down the subsystems to increase a feeling of alienation within the black child.

While it is acknowledged that change has to occur on all levels, change within the sub-system of the teaching staff will be of extreme benefit at this time. The primary focus of change at present is that of awareness. Junior primary teachers should be alerted to current research findings and developmental aspects relating to race awareness and prejudice in the children whom they teach. The prevalent erroneous belief that the children will adapt well to the situation without adult mediation and

intervention, and that contact alone will reduce any feelings of isolation or antipathy, simply serves as a smoke screen to the reality of the situation. Once teachers can work from an accurate knowledge base, they will be able to socially integrate the children in informed and creative ways.

As the teacher's levels of awareness and attitudes are likely to be of significance in the reduction of prejudice in the children, it is essential for teachers to confront and work through their own racial beliefs and possible prejudices. An opportunity for teachers to explore their own issues in this regard should be created in in-service training programmes. Given the fact that covert, or nonverbal signals are more powerful in the transmission of attitude than verbal statements, self awareness on the part of the teacher is of utmost importance.

It is hypothesised that the eventual incorporation of other-than-white teachers on the staff will also serve to alter the perceptions of all the children in relation to white social dominance. This will also do much to lessen black misidentification.

The primary aim of this study was the assessment of the racial awareness and attitudes of Sub A children, and to draw attention to the possible need for well thought out intervention programmes. From the findings of this study, the need for these programmes is clear.

Intervention strategies per se do not form the focus of this study. However, a few relevant points will be addressed. Allport (1954) suggests that programs to promote intergroup relationships should stress similarities rather than differences among groups. However, a focus upon similarities is not applicable for the Sub A child. From the perspective of the social developmental theory of prejudice, any intervention should follow developmental lines, and the theory proposed by Aboud (1988) is particularly useful in this regard. It should be remembered that according to Aboud (1988), the cognitive structures of a child below seven years of age are largely preoperational in nature, and the cognitive flexibility which characterises the

ability to conserve has not been established. Thus an intervention plan which relies on cognitive flexibility (such as attention to between-group similarities and within-group differences) would not be appropriate for the Sub A age group.

It is likely, however, that some children in Sub A, especially those who are reaching the end of their sixth year will be in the transitional phase between preoperational, and concrete operational thinking. Thus there will be some children who are firmly fixed in self-focussed affective concerns, while others may be entering the stage of individual- and group focussed cognitive concerns. It is the task of the Sub A teacher to introduce a programme which will cater for the concerns of both developmental stages. However, what apparently appears to be a complex endeavor can be simplified by the knowledge that children will take from information those factors which can be catered for by their present cognitive structures, and the presentation of information which is slightly above their cognitive level can promote a state of equilibration which will move them to a more advanced thinking pattern (Vygotsky, 1978).

The basic rationale is that teachers should aim to meet the child at his or her cognitive developmental level. If this is a level at which their cognitive flexibility is limited and differences rather than similarities are salient, mediating the differences should be the focus of the input.

The aim would be to lead the child into an awareness of similarities rather than differences, making use of the development of new cognitive structures which would allow for a greater understanding. In this way, there can be a step by step progression towards the ideal of a non-racial education system.

It is believed that the ideal of "non-racialism" as opposed to "multi-racialism" should be the eventual aim towards which all schools should strive. It is of great importance to initially stress differences rather than commonalities between groups, which

requires a further stage in cognitive development. Later, the importance of the internal factors, over and above external characteristics, should also be introduced. One important factor which emerged very strongly from this study in relation to Sub A children was the need to acknowledge, rather than to "white wash" or overlook difference between children of different groups. The young child's acute awareness of the external differences between groups should be acknowledged. The overlooking of differences will not only negate the children's perceptual experience which is dominant at this age, but will also have the effect of devaluing the few children who are obviously different in terms of external appearance and cultural background. An alternative would be for the teacher to acknowledge these differences by redefining them as valid and valuable, and by providing relevant information (for example, the relationship of skin colour to climate and the benefits of having dark skin in a hot country). Thus the teacher would become the mediator of tolerance by providing accurate information. This argument is based on the assumption that accurate information reduces prejudice. According to Aboud (1988), this has been seen to reduce prejudice to a certain extent in white children, and to increase an own-group attachment in minority children.

However, because of the concrete thinking and experiential learning of the young child, it is also important to provide the children with personal experience of aspects relating to the cultures of children of other groups. The children who are still largely egocentric and affective in their concerns can be accommodated by their involvement in role plays relating to aspects in the lives of children of various cultural backgrounds, for example, the enactment of various rituals and customs, and the sharing of traditional food. Thus they are able to egocentrically and vicariously identify with the emotions and attachments of other children. The high degree of fantasy inherent in the preoperational stage will do much to make this form of learning a success.

Once the children's developmental level has been catered for, they are likely to be emotionally more amenable, and cognitively more ready to move on to the next stage of looking at similarities between groups, and differences within groups.

### **6.3 LIMITATIONS**

Although the case study approach is useful in providing a depth approach to the subtleties and complexities involved in racial awareness of a small group of children, the restricted context in which the study was conducted and smallness of the sample involved precludes any generalization of findings. Nevertheless, there appears to be a need for detailed examination of issues such as minority/majority and institutionalised versus personalised racism, as well as methodology which is more developmentally appropriate. The case study method was found to be valuable in this study for beginning to provide some of this detailed information.

A limitation of this study is that it was conducted over a short duration of time, and only at one stage of the Sub A year. Process information could be gleaned from the gathering of drawings at intervals during the year. For example, when the news books were reviewed four months later, it was found that all the children accurately depicted their own racial features as well as those of children belonging to the other racial groups. Skin colour was specifically shown by the use of pink, black or brown crayon. This could point to the fact that in South African studies pertaining to the measurement of racial awareness, tests should be devised in which crayons are used as opposed to the lead pencil required in drawing techniques such as the KSD, and HFD.

All texts which refer to the use of the drawing as a projective technique emphasise the need for collateral information. In this study, the major source of this information was the teacher who, because of close contact which she had with the children and their families, was found to be a reliable source. However, collateral



information provided by parents could have provided further insight. It would also have brought more clarity in cases in which single children displayed signs which were contrary to theoretical explanations and research findings. A further phase of this study could be to obtain Kinetic Family Drawings from the subjects and to interview parents. Also, assessing both the teacher's and the parents' racial awareness, attitudes and prejudices would be a further extension of the work.

These procedures were seen to be beyond the scope of a limited dissertation and if attempted might have detracted from the focused and detailed analysis of drawings. Instead, development of a suitable instrument, namely the Peer Group Drawing was prioritized.

For a more accurate discussion of the drawings from a developmental perspective, an assessment of the cognitive stage of each child would have been useful. In its present form, the study can only make inferences about the cognitive stages of the children in the sample.

Notwithstanding the subjectivity involved in drawing analysis, the time consuming nature of this analysis would preclude this method as an instrument of preference in the study of racial attitude in a large sample of children. The fact that this method necessitates the analysis of more than one drawing, and the gathering of collateral information to aid in the interpretation, further increases its time consuming nature. However, the use of drawings in this study has pointed to the fact that despite these drawbacks they can provide valuable qualitative information which is not gained from forced-choice techniques. It must be remembered, however, that producing drawings is part of the everyday activity of a Sub A class and teachers regularly peruse and draw inferences about the children from the drawings. It is also stressed that a record of the attitudes and feelings of individual children can add a valuable dimension to more empirical studies in this area.

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## ADDENDUM ONE

Below is a sample of the subjects' verbal responses to the post-drawing question, "How can I tell that this is X?"

G: (coloured boy) I have short hair  
 S: (coloured) She is wearing a dress.  
 F: (white) He has short hair.  
 S: (coloured) He is wearing pants.  
 A: (black) She has bumpy hair.

L: (coloured girl) I have long hair.  
 A: (black) Because of her clothes and her skin.  
 A: (white) Because of her hair.

S: (white boy) All the boys are wearing shorts.  
 N: (black) She has no hair  
 A: (white) She has a bow.

L: (white girl)) Because I have long hair.  
 N: (coloured) She has bobbles in Her hair.  
 S: (white) He is wearing pants

S: (coloured boy) Because of my face and my skin (not coloured in).  
 S: (coloured) Her hair has loops like this.  
 G: (coloured) Because of his blazer.  
 C: (coloured) She has a pony tail.  
 A: (black) Because of her hands (not coloured in)

N: (coloured girl) I have bobbles (in my hair).  
 S: (white) He has longish hair.  
 S: (black) Because of his hair.  
 L: (white) She has long hair.  
 G: (white) Because she has hair here (a fringe).

A: (black girl) I have big hair (drawing of long hair).  
 S: (coloured) His hair goes like this.  
 A: (white) His hair has curls.  
 S: (coloured) Her hair goes like this (long and curly).  
 C: (coloured) She has hair.  
 W: (white) She has hair.

F: (white boy) I don't know about me.  
 S: (coloured) Because of his hair.  
 G: (white) Because of his blazer

A: (black) Because of her hair-bumps and the bow.  
 C: (coloured) Because she has long hair with a bow and a yellow thing on  
 S: (coloured) Because of her hair.  
 the end.

S: (coloured girl) I am Moslem  
 C: (coloured) She is Christian  
 S: (coloured) He looks different and is Moslem.  
 G: (white) He is Christian and different.  
 F: (white) He is also Christian.  
 W: (white) She is small and has glasses

G: (white girl) I have two pony's. (ponytails)  
 S: (white) He has short hair  
 N: (coloured) She has bobbles in her hair.  
 S: (black) Because of His hair, and he is an African.  
 A: (white) He has curly hair.  
 L: (white) She has long hair.

S: (black girl) because of my hair  
 J: (white) because of her hair.

W: (white girl) I have glasses.  
 G: (coloured) He is bigger than me.  
 S: (coloured) He is bigger than me.  
 G: (white) She is bigger than me.

S: (white boy) My hair is straight.  
 S: (black) Because of his hair.  
 A: (white) His hair is curly.  
 N: (coloured) She has different hair.  
 G: (white) She has two pony tails.  
 L: (white) She has one pony.

J: (white girl) I have long hair.  
 T: (black) He is black.  
 N: (white) He has white hair  
 S: (black)) She is black.  
 R: (coloured) He is the boy with quite long hair.

G: (coloured boy) I am wearing pants.  
 S: (white) Because of His hair.  
 G: (white) She has two bits of hair (pony tails).  
 N: (white) Because of his ears.  
 T: (black) Because of his hair.



C: (coloured girl) I don't know.  
 W: (white) I don't know  
 S: (coloured) I don't know  
 A: (black) She is an African.

N: (black girl) I have big eyes and a big mouth and a jersey.  
 H: (white) He has pants.  
 N: (white) He is little.  
 G: (coloured) He has a black thing (mole) on his lip.  
 A: (white) She has long hair and a bow.

A: (white girl) I have long hair and a fringe.  
 N: (black) She has no hair  
 J: (white) He has blond hair  
 N: (white) He is little with blond hair.  
 H: (white) He has lighter hair than G.'s  
 G: (coloured) He has dark hair.

S: (black boy) I am a boy.  
 L: (white) She is a girl.  
 G: (white) She is a girl.  
 N: (coloured) She is a girl.

G: (coloured boy) I have skin.  
 A: (black) Because of her clothes and her skin.  
 N: (black) She is wearing a dress (had shaded hands and feet).  
 N: (white): Because of his hair and face and pants, and hands.  
 A: (white): Because of her hair.  
 There was also a hair distinction in the drawing, although it was not mentioned for all of the figures.

L: (coloured girl): I have long hair  
 J: (white): She has short hair.  
 T: (black): His hair is very very short.  
 G: (white): His hair is longer than T's.

## **ADDENDUM TWO**

### **LIST OF EMOTIONAL INDICATORS ON HFD'S OF CHILDREN**

(KOPPITZ, 1968: 333-334, Appendix F.)

(All the Emotional Indicators are considered valid for boys and girls age 5 to 12  
unless otherwise indicated)

#### **QUALITY SIGNS:**

- Poor integration of parts of figure (Boys 7, Girls 6)
- Shading of face
- Shading of body and/or limbs (boys 9, girls 6)
- Shading of hands and/or neck (Boys 8, Girls 7)
- Gross asymmetry of limbs
- Slanting figure, axis of figure tilted by 15 degrees  
or more
- Tiny figure, two inches high or less.
- Big figure, nine inches or more in height (boys and  
girls.
- Transparencies.

#### **SPECIAL FEATURES:**

- Short arms, arms not long enough to reach waistline.
- Long arms, arms long enough to reach knee line.
- Arms clinging to side of body.
- Big hands, hands as large as face of figure.

- Hands cut off, arms without hands or fingers (hidden hands not scored).
- Legs pressed together.
- Genitals
- Monster or grotesque figure
- Three or more figures spontaneously drawn.
- clouds, rain, snow.

**OMISSIONS:**

- No eyes
- No nose (Boys 6, Girls, 5)
- No mouth
- No body
- No arms (Boys 6, Girls 5)
- No legs
- No feet (Boys 9, Girls 7)
- No neck (Boys 10, Girls 9).

## **ADDENDUM THREE**

### **INTERPRETATION OF GROUP DRAWINGS (Klepsch et Al., 1982)**

#### **1. OVERALL IMPRESSION**

#### **2. SPECIFIC INDICATORS OR SIGNS:**

- Omission of figures
- Inclusion of extra figures
- Placement of figures on the page
- Relative size of figures
- Similar treatment of figures
- Differential treatment of figures
- Underlining or baselining
- Separation of individual by lines or encapsulation
- Individuals engaged in the same activity
- Significance of actions

# ADDENDUM FOUR

## HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING

AGE: 7.1

The self figure was positioned between God and two devils with knives in their heads. She was crying, sticking her tongue out at the devils, and vomiting. Anxiety was indicated by the shading of the body, and the jagged lines in the sky. The transparency in the genital region indicated anxiety and concern about this particular region of the body (Koppitz, 1968). The depiction of a moon was an indication of depression (Burns, 1982). The fact that the moon was also depicted as sad emphasised the depression experienced by the child.

The teacher was alerted to the fact that the drawing of this child indicated severe emotional difficulties. When the home circumstances were followed up, sexual abuse was suspected and appropriate measures taken.

